

# The Nation.

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## The Week.

THE week has been one of comparative calm. The President has blown one little blast more against the Radicals, but the Radicals maintain a masterly silence. In the meantime the Democratic journals are in agony lest by some unhappy combination of circumstances the quarrel should pass over without further consequences. The Chicago *Times* proposes for Mr. Johnson's consideration the arrest of Sumner, Stevens, and Phillips, and the forcible dissolution of Congress. The New York *Times*, in a philosophical discussion of the matter, has arrived at the conclusion that somebody must yield; that the President cannot be expected to yield, inasmuch as he is unwilling to yield, and that therefore Congress must do so. We propose that a commission composed of conservative politicians be framed to enquire by what authority Congress meddles in the government of this country at all. If we may judge by some of the articles and speeches we read, both House and Senate are sitting in Washington in consequence of some monstrous mistake, Mr. Johnson being charged with the sole management of the national affairs in virtue of his accidental accession to the presidential chair. It might be well, however, in any event, to let Congress linger on for the present, inasmuch as the dispersion of the members might injure the public credit. And we confess for our part we cannot wholly divest ourselves of the conviction that even if Mr. Johnson be not allowed to do exactly as he pleases, the national existence may by a great effort on the part of the people be still protracted. The Government was, no doubt, a very poor affair until he took charge of it, but still it lived, and, we flatter ourselves, will continue to do so even after he has retired. We doubt very much whether he will even do that whimpering over its mangled remains which he promised his hearers in Washington a fortnight ago.

THE constitutional amendment introduced by Mr. Bingham has been postponed till April, and April probably means indefinitely. This is supposed to be one step in a possible or probable compromise with the President. Meanwhile the concurrent resolution asserting the power of Congress to keep the rebel States out until it chooses to admit them by bill has been carried by a large majority. Conservatives oppose this on *a priori* grounds, and ask in alarm whether the admission of States by bill is not an admission that they are out of the Union. The fact is, that no theory of the powers of our Government, or of its relations with the rebel States, yet propounded has had, or has now, the slightest practical value. Not one of them can be made to cover one-tenth of the steps that have been taken to bring the South

back to its allegiance. There is only one stand-point from which a clear view of the situation, or of the course we are steering, can be obtained—and that is the stand-point of the national safety. Whatever is necessary to establish the Government on a sure and lasting foundation, to ensure liberty and justice and security to every man, woman, and child living under it, is right, no matter what logical inferences may be deduced from it. And we should advocate this, though it furnished dialecticians with the means of drawing the conclusion that all black men were white, or that the President was an absolute monarch.

MR. JOHNSON, who seems not only never weary of pardoning, but never satisfied unless he is pardoning somebody, has, we suppose in default of rebels, taken to pardoning counterfeiters, and has within a few days let loose—and this is the second or third case of the kind—a convicted forger of fractional currency. The counterfeiting of fractional currency is *par excellence* an offence against the poor, and, consequently, perhaps less entitled to indulgence than any other in the statute-book. We respectfully suggest, therefore, that Mr. Johnson have a more careful examination made of the revolted States, as we have no doubt numerous objects for Executive clemency may yet be discovered there, and the Northern counterfeiters be thus left to serve out their terms.

MR. ROGERS, a representative from New Jersey, enjoys the unusual satisfaction of lying down at night with a clear conscience. This is owing to the fact that he did not vote for the amendment by which slavery was abolished, and which he styles "that most wicked and unjust measure." Another title to undisturbed repose, we imagine, he derives from his opposition to the amendment proposed by Mr. Bingham, which would, as Mr. Rogers so feelingly shows, abrogate those statutes of the late slave States which regulate the penalties for crime according to the color of the culprit. Indeed, to take the instance adduced by him, we do not see how any good citizen could rest quietly in his bed, if he knew that the penal code of Kentucky had been suddenly so altered that a black man guilty of rape could be only imprisoned, or else a white man equally guilty must be hung. On the one hand, society would be exposed to fresh assaults from those for whom punishment would have been thus abated; on the other, to more reckless violence on the part of the irritated and desperate white population, subjected to additional rigor. The alternative is deplorable.

THE Senate has asked the President again for copies of the orders, letters, instructions, commissions, and so forth, used in reconstructing. The same request was made last December, and up to this time has met with no response, and yet these documents would certainly throw much light on the process of reconstruction and would gratify much legitimate curiosity. It would be interesting to learn, for instance, what passed between Mr. Johnson and Governor Humphreys, of Mississippi, who was elected fresh from the battle-field, and before he had been pardoned, and whose first message was as truculent a denunciation of the federal Government as ever appeared in the palmy days of the Confederacy.

READERS of Mr. Olmsted's "Journey in Texas" may remember his account of a hospitable farmer, Mr. Dagmer, and his two manly sons, who entertained him at Sisterdale, on the Guadalupe, and of whose enlightened sentiments in regard to slavery he speaks in terms of admiration. A correspondent in Texas states that the two sons of Mr. Dagmer were murdered by the secessionists early in the war, while the

father was in prison. The latter is now a prominent member of the State Constitutional Convention of Texas, and has distinguished himself by a speech in which he avowed his willingness to give the right of suffrage to such of the negroes as could read and write the English language intelligently.

CERTAIN citizens of Tennessee, convened at Nashville on the 22d ult. to endorse the President, undertook among other things to parse the word loyalty, which they did by resolution. From this it appears that loyalty has tenses like a verb, but it is defective: that is to say, it wants the past. Thus, on the authority of these gentlemen, it is quite correct for an ex-Confederate or a neutral or a Copperhead to say: "I am loyal," and "I shall be [or, still better, by Southern usage, *will be*] loyal;" but it would be a solecism for him to declare that he *was* loyal. It will be seen from this how utterly useless it is to enquire into any man's antecedent relations to the Government. Once rid of all ungrammatical distinctions, we arrive at a second resolution, which runs as follows:

"Resolved, That in restoring Tennessee to her equality of rights and influence in the Union, her citizens are entitled to a full compensation for the loss of that property of every kind, so far as practicable, of which it was the policy of our country in the late struggle to deprive them."

THE jealous advocates of State rights should look after the bill proposed by Mr. Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, in the House on Friday. Congress is asked, in the interest of the liquor traffic, to allow the license granted under the internal revenue act to legalize the commercial transaction for which it is taken out. Such legislation would nullify the Maine law wherever it now exists, and would in effect establish the principle that a State has no right to repress the growth of vice, or even to pass a sumptuary law, if she deems it expedient, for her own citizens, provided such a course would diminish the sources of the Federal income.

THE Massachusetts Commissioners appointed by the last Legislature to investigate the hours of labor and the condition and prospects of the working classes, made their report last week. After a fair hearing of employers and employees, they concluded against an eight-hour law, because it could not equitably be applied to all kinds of labor; because it would be rendered void by special contracts; and because it could not possibly be observed by a large proportion of the industrial interests of the country. They present evidence, however, of marked and deplorable abuse in the employment of children of tender years in manufacturing establishments, contrary to State law; and they recommend that the time for schooling prescribed be doubled, and that the law be relaxed in favor of those employers who adopt in good faith the English "half-time system." They also urge the appointment of one or more inspectors, of ample powers, who shall see that the laws on this subject are faithfully obeyed, and bring suits, if necessary, for their enforcement. There should be, in their opinion, a law for the annual collection of statistics in regard to the condition and needs of the industrial population.

ONE hundred thousand dollars raised by voluntary subscriptions have been presented to General Grant, with a letter from one of the subscribers. No better deserved testimonial has ever been offered to a distinguished man, and the secrecy with which the money was collected, and the silence which was at first maintained with regard to the names of the contributors, lent a grace to it by which but few movements of this kind have been marked. We are, therefore, very sorry to see that somebody has been guilty of the treachery and bad taste of furnishing the list to the New York *Herald*. There are several other heroes who have deserved well of the nation whom we should like to see rewarded in the same manner, if it could be done without furnishing occasion to lovers of notoriety to advertise their liberality.

THE well-meaning telegraph reported last week that the executive of a neighboring State had appointed Wednesday, the 13th of April, for the execution of a murderer. The fact is, the date falls on Friday, which is thus, according to a custom more venerable than defensible on any but superstitious grounds, once more to be branded as a *dies nefastus* by being made the "hangman's day." It may be doubted

whether the supposed reproach of this coincidence should be understood as resting on the criminal or on the nature of his punishment. If the former, it would be puerile; if the latter, it would be an odd concession to the opponents of the gallows.

THE Jamaica Legislature came to the very sensible conclusion, about the time of the suppression of the "rebellion," that the best mode of hiding its own shame and spiting the blacks was to die; so it petitioned the Crown to accept a surrender of the Colonial Charter and govern the island as Parliament might please. The Crown has taken the colony at its word, and a bill has been introduced by Lord Cardwell into the House of Commons abolishing the wretched caricature on constitutional government which has ruined the island. It is now to be placed on the same footing as Trinidad for an experimental period of three years and governed as a Crown colony. The first measure of reform ought to be the abolition of the Established Church, and the conversion of its revenues into an educational fund; the substitution of paid magistrates, sent out from England, for the existing local justices of the peace, bred in the slavery system, or inheriting its prejudices; the reduction of the duties on necessities, and the equalization of taxation. Jamaica has rendered some service to the world in demonstrating the extent to which slaveholding unfits men for the administration of justice amongst a dependent or inferior race.

MATTHEW ARNOLD, the son, as most of our readers know, of Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, has published in "Macmillan's Magazine" an onslaught on the English middle class, now the governing class of the country, which, for keenness, bitterness, rhetorical finish, as well as power, has been rarely equalled. As a piece of English composition, it is worth being lectured upon in colleges. He makes out a terrible bill of indictment against the British bourgeoisie for their ignorance, bad manners, timidity, and political and social incapacity; and predicts for England, if she continues under their guidance, and they do not mend their ways, a fate somewhat like that of Holland. Already, he declares, she has fallen below both France and the United States in the scale of nations. The unhappy middle class, however, take their whipping in such good part, and "come up so smiling" after every knockdown, that one cannot help believing that there is still hope of their improvement. The article is, apparently, highly enjoyed all over England. Professor Arnold has certainly gained in popular estimation by writing it, and the *Saturday Review* has replied to it in a splendid piece of intellectual fence. When one asks one's self what would be the fate of a professor of a Southern college, or even of a Northern one, who had ventured to write in this way of his countrymen, and what would be said and thought of the magazine which published his revilings, we get an idea of the extent to which slavery or something has made it difficult even for our ablest men to criticize national faults or shortcomings, without loss of reputation or social standing. And yet the question whether sound and healthy progress is possible without such criticism has still to be answered.

GEN. LA MARMORA has addressed to the Italian minister at Madrid a very frank and positive communication for the Spanish government, informing it that its solicitude for the temporal security of the Pope when the French troops shall have been withdrawn from Rome is impertinent, and that the treaty of the 15th September, 1864, which has been scrupulously observed by Italy, concerned only her and France. He also rebukes an official expression of hope, on the part of Spain, that certain provinces which now form a part of the kingdom may eventually be detached from it. This is, he says, to mistake the immovable foundations on which Italian unity rests, and the unalterable determination which exists to make it respected.

THE Prussian Chamber protested, by a vote of 265 to 35, against the judgment of the Supreme Court which sanctioned the prosecution of deputies for words spoken in debate. Bismark quoted for them, by way of menace, a police regulation relating to servants, that "if they provoke their masters to anger, they must not complain of being roughly handled;" and the Minister of Justice gave notice that he had ordered the prosecutions to be made.

AN Austrian commission appointed to consider the propriety of introducing the decimal system of weights and measures has unanimously pronounced in favor of it.

## CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON, March 3, 1866.

A WEEK of calm deliberation has succeeded to the warm political excitements of the preceding week. The fact that the President has gone no further in the direction of his imprudent speech of the 22d February, and the retention by all the members of his cabinet of their places, is generally looked upon as evincing an overruling desire for conciliation and harmony in the councils of the great Union party. That this is the feeling of the President is corroborated by the authorized publication of his talk with Governor Cox, of Ohio, as well as by the fact that little or no movement toward the political proscription of those in office differing from the Executive has been made. Still, it is by no means safe to conclude that any permanent concord will exist between the President and the present Congress upon measures concerning the political rights of the rebellious States. The grounds of difference all remain, and if the Executive should determine to follow up his first veto by a systematic endeavor to thwart the legislation of Congress, it is in his power to make an issue which will bring to his side all the elements of opposition to the party which elected him, together with the mass of the Southern people. So long as the latter, however, are unrepresented in Congress, through the resolute determination of that body to insist upon the loyalty not only of representatives, but of the constituencies behind them, the only effect will be to agitate the country and enhance the importance of that popular verdict which must, sooner or later, decide between Congress and the President.

The chief measure of importance in the legislation of the week is the passage by the Senate, by the strong vote of 29 to 18, of the concurrent resolution adopted by the House on the day succeeding the veto of the President, and declaring that no representatives shall be admitted from any State heretofore proclaimed to be in insurrection until Congress shall have declared such State to be entitled to representation. The chief significance of this resolution lies in the fact that it establishes the opinion of Congress, by an overwhelming majority, that the two Houses should act conjointly upon the whole question of representation of States, and that this question is entirely independent of the Executive. On these points the tenacity of this Congress will be found immovable. It is also noteworthy that precisely the same number of Union senators (with the addition of Mr. Lane, of Kansas) deserted the majority upon this question as changed their votes on the Freedmen's Bureau bill, after the veto message.

The second amendment of the Constitution recommended by the Joint Committee of Fifteen, after being partially discussed in the House, has been postponed until April. This is chiefly because many members of the legal profession see in the final clause of the proposed amendment, investing Congress with power "to secure to all persons in the several States equal protection in the rights of life, liberty, and property," a dangerous centralization of power. Unimpeachable Republicans object to it as authorizing the general Government to interfere and override State laws on the subject of property, the legal rights of women, etc. The postponement of the amendment by unanimous vote of the majority, while it gives time for maturing another proposition, is conclusive against the passage of the present one.

Mr. Trumbull's very stringent "Civil Rights bill," if passed by the House as it came from the Senate, would go far to render any such proposed amendment of the Constitution unnecessary, *i. e.*, provided it were to receive the signature of the President, which, it is confidently believed, it cannot do.

Mr. Fessenden's closing speech on the passage of the concurrent resolution from the Joint Committee of Fifteen, urged that the committee were obstructed by the President in procuring the needed information on which to base their action and final report on the condition of the rebel States. It is a significant fact that President Johnson, although three times requested by special resolution of the Senate or House to do so, has not hitherto communicated any of the facts or

documents in his possession regarding the provisional governments he established and afterward withdrew in those States.

## DIARY.

Monday, February 26, 1866.—In the Senate, general petitions were presented from Wisconsin and Michigan, praying for a prohibitory tariff on imports. Referred. Mr. Grimes presented a petition from citizens of Iowa, praying for a constitutional amendment distinctly recognizing the Christian religion as the true one, and the United States as a Christian government. Several petitions, asking for guaranties of loyalty etc., previous to the admission of any rebel State, were referred. Mr. Lane, of Kansas, moved to take from the table the credentials of the two senators of Arkansas, and to refer them to the Judiciary Committee. He urged that Arkansas is now peaceable and quiet, has abolished slavery and repudiated the rebel debt, and should be represented by her loyal senators, who had already taken the test-oath preliminary to being elected. Mr. Trumbull opposed the motion, as the Senate had postponed the claims of these men at the last session, until Arkansas should be declared entitled to representation. He moved that the credentials lie on the table until the Joint Committee of Fifteen should report as to the rebel States. Carried—yeas, 29; nays, 17. A motion to admit the claimants to seats, *pro tempore*, was laid on the table—yeas, 27; nays, 18. Mr. Sherman spoke at length on the House concurrent resolution, refusing admission of senators and representatives from rebel States until Congress shall have declared them entitled to such representation. He approved the principle, but doubted the expediency of now re-affirming it, condemned the President's speech as humiliating and unworthy of his office, declared the doctrine that the President is under no obligation to the party which elected him to be false in honor and false in principle, favored the prompt restoration of Tennessee and the constitutional change in the basis of representation, and urged moderation and harmony between Congress and the President. The bill to grant an exclusive privilege to the International Ocean Telegraph Company to lay and operate a telegraph to the West Indies was discussed and laid over.

In the House, Mr. McClurg's resolution to enquire into the expediency of levying contributions on the rebel States to defray the cost of the army in those States was referred—yeas, 102; nays, 27. A resolution instructing the Military Committee to report a bill equalizing the bounties of all soldiers was passed. A resolution declaring it as the opinion of the House that Congress has no constitutional right to fix the qualifications of electors in the States was not adopted—yeas, 40; nays, 53; not voting, 86. The Joint Committee on Reconstruction reported back the constitutional amendment offered last week empowering Congress to make laws securing equal rights to life, liberty, and property to citizens in all the States. Laid over. Mr. Wilson reported from the Judiciary Committee a bill fixing the number of judges of the Supreme Court and changing certain judicial circuits. Referred.

Feb. 27.—In the Senate, a joint resolution, expressing the gratitude of the nation to the officers and soldiers of the United States, was passed. Mr. Morgan offered a bill to exempt college lands donated by Congress from taxation by State or municipal authority. Referred. Mr. Sumner offered a resolution repeating the call of the Senate upon the President (made Jan. 5) for copies of all papers, proclamations, constitutions, and other proceedings between the Executive and provisional governors, or between those officers and conventions, etc., of the rebel States. Adopted. Mr. Morrill submitted a resolution calling for the reports of Assistant Commissioners of the Freedmen's Bureau. Adopted. The House concurrent resolution against admission of representatives from States declared in rebellion was taken up. Mr. Dixon opposed it as unconstitutional and disorganizing, and defended the President's policy of restoration as the true one. Mr. Trumbull replied, claiming that it requires the concurrent action of both Houses of Congress to recognize any government in States where rebellion has overthrown it.

In the House, the constitutional amendment conferring upon Congress power to equalize civil rights was discussed by Messrs. Higby, Kelley, and Price in its favor, and Mr. Hale against it. Mr. Van Horn, of Missouri, offered a resolution that the further employment of French troops in Mexico would be considered by Congress a violation of the Emperor's pledge at the recent opening of the French Chambers. Referred.

February 28.—In the Senate, Mr. Johnson presented the credentials of B. F. Perry as senator elect from South Carolina. Laid on the table. Resolutions of the Nevada Legislature, in favor of the speedy trial of Jeff. Davis, were presented. The naval appropriation bill, which passed the House, was reported with amendments. The bill granting lands to the San Francisco and Humboldt Bay RR. Co. was passed. The concurrent resolution relating to representation of Southern States was taken up. Mr. Nye, of Nevada, opposed the present admission of any members from those States, and advocated the resolution. Mr. Stewart, of Nevada, opposed the resolution, arguing that to suspend the right of a State to representation is dangerous and unwise.

In the House, the constitutional amendment, empowering Congress to secure to citizens in all the States equal rights, was taken up, and opposed by Messrs. Davis and Hotchkiss, of N. Y., and advocated by Messrs. Woodbridge and Bingham. On motion of Mr. Conkling, of the Joint Committee of Fifteen, the constitutional amendment was postponed until the second Tuesday in April—yeas, 110; nays, 37. The deficiency appropriation bill was considered and amended.

March 1.—In the Senate, a petition was presented from the American Free Trade League for a free interchange of goods between the British provinces and the United States. Referred. Mr. Wilson reported a bill, heretofore referred to the Military Committee, to disband the militia forces of certain Southern States. The bill granting lands to aid the Southern Pacific Railroad was considered and amended. The bill which passed the House, amending the act prohibiting the importation of cattle, was passed. The concurrent resolution declaring against the immediate representation of States lately in rebellion was taken up, when Mr. Stewart and Mr. Johnson spoke against it and Mr. Wade in its favor.

In the House, the Committee on Ways and Means were instructed to report on the expediency of reducing the duty on paper. The bill which passed the Senate, to protect all persons in their civil rights, was taken up and discussed by Messrs. Wilson, of Iowa, and Cook, of Illinois, in its favor, and Mr. Rogers, of New Jersey, against it. The deficiency appropriation bill was passed after being amended so as to provide that no money be paid to any person not ready to take the test-oath of July, 1862.

March 2.—In the Senate, Mr. Sumner presented two petitions from authors, editors, and publishers of the United States, praying Congress to enact measures for the adop-

tion of an international copyright law by this Government and that of Great Britain. Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. Mr. Sumner also presented the petition of John A. Andrew and others, praying that the Constitution may be amended so that the President and Vice-President may be chosen by the people directly, without the intervention of electors; also for an amendment extending the elective franchise to all citizens who can read, irrespective of color or social condition. Referred. Mr. Johnson presented credentials of Henry Boyce, elected as a senator from Louisiana. Laid on the table. Mr. Lane, of Kansas, offered a resolution looking to a general convention of the people of the United States to consider amendments to the Constitution. The bill granting lands to aid in the construction of the Southern Pacific Railroad was passed. The Senate resumed the consideration of the concurrent resolution from the House, declaring that no representatives shall be admitted from any State heretofore declared in insurrection until Congress shall declare such State entitled to representation. Messrs. Cowan, Doolittle, and McDougal spoke against the resolution, and Messrs. Wilson and Fessenden in its favor. Mr. Hendricks moved to amend so as to insert "the inhabitants of" before the words "States declared to be in insurrection." Lost—yeas, 17; nays, 29. The resolution was then passed—yeas, 29; nays, 18. Adjourned to March 5.

In the House, a bill to construct a ship canal around the Falls of Niagara was reported and re-committed. Mr. Boutwell presented petitions from colored citizens of Georgia asking for the right of suffrage. Referred. Also, a memorial from white loyalists of Alabama complaining that they are at the mercy of the rebels, in whose hands the State government of Alabama now is, and protesting against the removal of United States troops. Referred. Mr. Baker offered a joint resolution proposing an amendment of the Constitution, but it was objected to. A bill relinquishing the title of the United States to all lands within the corporate limits of San Francisco was passed. The Senate bill to protect all persons in their civil rights was discussed by Messrs. Thayer, Windom, and Shellabarger in its favor, and Messrs. Thornton and Eldridge against it. After adopting certain amendments to the bill, the House postponed its further consideration to Thursday, March 8. A bill was offered and referred to encourage education in agriculture and the mechanic arts.

March 3.—The Senate was not in session.

In the House, speeches on the state of the Union were made by several members, but no business of any kind was transacted.

#### THE FREEDMEN.

THE Bureau and the freedmen have lost a devoted helper in the person of Brevet Lt.-Col. H. M. Stinson, A. D. C. to Gen. Howard. He entered the army as a Maine private in 1861, was wounded and taken prisoner at Bull Run, and suffered confinement in various parts of the South. On his release he returned to the service, under promotion, and was shot through the lungs in the Georgia campaign. Hemorrhage resulted from subsequent exposure about Atlanta, and he died on the 22d ult. at Tallahassee, whither he had gone in hope of recovery. He was but twenty-two years of age.

The Assistant Commissioner for Texas gives a most satisfactory account of labor in that State. He reports that laborers are in great demand with the planters, and that those engaged are working well and getting good wages. Wages run from eight to fifteen dollars per month in specie, with quarters, food, fuel, etc. He challenges the whole South to show better paid laborers than those of the cotton and sugar growing sections of the State. Instead of money wages, in some instances, portions of the crop are to be given, in amounts ranging from one-third to one-half. "At least nine-tenths of the former slave population are under contract for a year." Outrages, though not unfrequent, are on the decline, except in the portions of the State inaccessible to the influence of the Government. There are twenty-six schools (colored) reported in the State, with over 1,600 pupils. The expenses of the Bureau are paid in part from the receipts from fines, etc., of the freedmen's courts.

Gen. Fisk reports a steady advancement in industry, good order, education, and justice in Kentucky and Tennessee. But few freedmen are idle, the emigration from the towns and cities having been large. The whole number of rations issued to dependents, black or white, by the Bureau during the month of December, 1865, amounted to only \$620. Much has been done for the destitute freedmen by the freed people themselves, and Gen. Fisk's report brings to light the very remarkable fact that the "Provident Association," in Nashville, Tenn., which is a colored organization, and which relieves distress without regard to color, has benefited more whites than blacks, and that "many widows and orphans whose husbands and fathers fell fighting to perpetuate slavery have been fed and warmed through the kindly offices of the freedmen's association for the relief of the poor."

The reports of outrages in Kentucky are numerous. Two negroes were shot by a gang of guerillas in Owingsville. An agent of the Bureau took one or two of them prisoners, and started to Lexington

with them. At Mount Sterling a writ of *habeas corpus* was served, and the men released by a judge, on the ground that the law did not include Kentucky within the operations of the Bureau. Another negro, an old man, was shot, placed upon the coals in a fireplace, one side roasted, and then turned over in order to roast the other side, by some fiends in human form. These facts rest upon unquestionable authority.

Complaints of the injustice of the Maryland apprentice laws are constantly reported. Children are taken from good situations and placed in a condition as bad as slavery. In one case, a colored woman sick with consumption was deprived of her son—her sole support—by his being apprenticed to a white man to "learn habits of industry." He was maintaining his mother and himself by honest toil, and she is now dependent upon charity for support.

Col. Thomas, of Mississippi, sends a gratifying account of labor in that State. The demand exceeds the supply to such an extent that one planter came to Virginia to secure help. He took back sixty-three able-bodied hands. The absurd stories which have been prevalent throughout the State, and which prevented the freedmen from going to work, are no longer heard; the vagrant laws are not in force in any of the towns or cities he has visited, because, as the civil authorities say, "they are not needed." The feelings of the whites are improving towards the blacks. Cases of abuse are becoming less frequent.

From Virginia, Col. Brown writes that Capt. Lacy, of the Western District of the State, reports that the demand for labor in that section, also, exceeds the supply; that high wages are offered and paid for able-bodied hands.

#### Minor Topics.

THERE are a number of harmless and respectable persons who think they look like some famous man or woman either living or dead. This resemblance they nurse to the best of their ability; it adds a daily pleasure to their lives. As it is quite impracticable to masquerade outside of a fancy ball in a costume older than 1850 without incurring the risk of a commission of lunacy, unless one deals in patent medicines or old-folk minstrelsy, they are necessarily limited to their heads and the hair thereof, in the imitation of their great originals. Napoleons comb that historical foretop carefully down towards the eyes; Louis Napoleons wax out the ends of their heavy moustaches; bald gentlemen, who do Shakespeare, extend their foreheads and peak their yellow beards; and ladies who have been fortunate enough to receive such gifts from nature, do the smiling Sévigné in little blonde ringlets, or brush their dark hair well off the temples and scowl sternly as Rachel. Why is this a gratification to them? In what way is their vanity tickled? It would be interesting to know how they account to themselves for the pleasure, if, indeed, they ever think of analyzing their feelings at all.

It is certain that the besetting weakness of man is to try to appear what he is not. He is a lucky individual who, in a lifetime, has known two or three honest, genuine, unaffected persons, who are willing to seem what they are, or rather who have never thought of being other than nature made them. This is the highest form of moral health. All the rest of the world have an ideal, moral or physical, they work up to. Indeed, when we take a good look at ourselves, it is not at all surprising we wish for improvement. There would be little hope for the race were it otherwise. Unfortunately, most people think the imitation will pass current almost as well as the genuine article. "Assume a virtue if you have it not," says the poet. They dress themselves up in moral qualities they think becoming, and wear false good feeling and false politeness to hide their meannesses and selfishness, just as they parry the insults of nature by padding, and try to hide the scars of time by wigs and teeth. This is comprehensible. It is also easy to understand why it is agreeable to resemble a man or a woman celebrated for their beauty. To look like them is to be good-looking; and certainly a little trimming and brushing to help out the resemblance is natural and pardonable. But it was not Shakespeare's bald head and peaked beard that made him immortal. In fact, not even Mr. Richard Grant White knows what manner of man he was. Napo-

leon did not conquer Europe because he brushed his hair over his brows; and Mile. Rachel would have been much more attractive had her eyes been less sunken, her neck fatter, and her forehead less bony. However small might be his chances of success, we could only approve of a man who devoted his energies to trying to become a Shakespeare; but to make a mere mask of one's self day after day seems the silliest of all the foolish objects of human endeavor. Barnum's wax-work effigies of the famous are much more effective, for they give the costume as well as the face, and they hold their tongues. If Mr. and Mrs. Smith are "extremely innocent company," as Pepys says of his father, no one is offended; it is no fault of theirs; but if Mr. and Mrs. Smith present themselves wearing the lion's skin of Shakespeare and of Rachel, they invite a comparison which becomes, of course, a ridiculous contrast when they begin to bray. A great name is often too heavy a burden for the heir, because it suggests a standard of talent or conduct he is unable to come up to. That is a misfortune. But why should any one, of his own free will, uninvited and unprovoked, struggle to show his acquaintances the great gulf that lies between his insignificance and the genius of his exemplar? It seems inexplicable; yet it is a very old trait of human nature. Byron shirt-collars are proverbial, and Horace laughs at Romans who "did" Cato with bare feet and sour faces. Perhaps physiology may help us to understand it. La Marck and Darwin assert that mankind sprang from some gorilla in advance of his age. If so, it must be this monkey element, not yet worn out of our nature, that drives us into these absurd imitations.

THE last number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* contains an article upon Proudhon, the French socialist, and his works, in which an amusing but, no doubt, very correct explanation is given of Proudhon's habit of exaggeration. He loved to throw his theories into propositions of the most startling violence, and such as everybody else would be sure to deny. "Property" he declared to be "theft; God, to be evil; woman, debauchery; government, anarchy." This manner of arguing the reviewer calls "putting too high a price on his thought;" in other words, it is the fault of a dealer anxious to obtain as much as possible for his wares. Proudhon expected his reader to beat him down, and thus to arrive at his real meaning. If he was taken at the letter, therefore, injustice was done him, just as it would be unfair to call an Italian shopkeeper extortionate because, according to the custom of the country, he asks from every purchaser twice as much as he expects to get. He has to make allowance for the beating down he knows he will undergo. In fact, "his violence," Proudhon said, "was part of his tactics."

As this was his way of dealing with ideas, he could not, of course, lay it aside in dealing with men. Consequently, he was one of the most abusive reformers that ever appeared, which is saying a good deal; but the reader had, of course, to beat him down. If he said of a philosopher that he was a "charlatan," it would be found on making the necessary allowance that he simply meant that he did not agree with him. So, also, if he called a man an "idiot," he simply meant that he had contradicted him. Everything he wrote had to be read with this little peculiarity in view.

We call attention to all this for the purpose of bespeaking the public indulgence for numbers of worthy men amongst ourselves, who in their zeal are also in the habit of making apparently extortionate demands on our patience and confidence in the utterance of their thoughts on public affairs. If their readers and hearers would only bear in mind that they really expect to be beaten down in their phrases, they would treat them with more consideration. A large discount has always to be made in their language. For instance, when they call a man a "liar," they simply mean that he changes his mind too frequently; by a "cheat," they mean a person who has acted differently from what they expected; by an "idiot," they generally wish to indicate simply a person who disagrees with them. When they announce that "all is lost," they mean that they have some fears as to the future; and when they proclaim some quondam ally a "traitor," they probably mean only to accuse him of lukewarmness. In fact, a little hand-book for newspaper readers and attendants on public meetings might be made up, with a very useful

vocabulary giving the real sense of the phrases on which many popular orators and writers rely to produce their more startling effects. And when we remember the circumstances under which most newspaper articles are read and most speeches listened to, we must all confess that it is no great wonder if both writer and speaker find themselves so often driven to exaggeration in order to secure a hearing at all, that at last it becomes a habit with them. When you know that what you write will be read in cars, restaurants, or over a hurried breakfast, you are apt to be driven into capitals, italics, and loud-sounding epithets, in order to make the faintest impression. And when you find yourself addressing a hot, irritable, and uncomfortable crowd, such as most public meetings are composed of, if you say that Smith has not acted with the courage you expected of him, it falls very flat; but if you say that he has behaved like a cowardly knave, and damned his memory to everlasting infamy, you bring down the house. When the audience go home and sit down to think over what they have heard, they are probably sensible that the orator has been guilty of great absurdity; but then the fact that Smith has misconducted himself remains imprinted on their minds, though they forget all about the infamy that is to follow his memory down the ages.

WE hope the next Democratic convention that meets, after re-affirming the Dred Scott decision and endorsing the policy of President Johnson, will have some praise to bestow on Gen. Bennett, U. S. A. Since, that we may not be thought traitors and disunionists, we are all now agreed that this is a white man's government, it is pleasant to find a Federal officer on Southern territory—we beg pardon, soil—whose notions of duty are not confined to looking after the negro. This admirable, and all the more so because exceptional, character—one of the few, it would seem, who lighten the military yoke by which our Southern brethren are galled—felt obliged, it is true, to interfere with the operation of the civil law in South Carolina. But if such interference is inevitable, may it never be exercised less worthily than in the present instance. So long as statutes must be dumb at the bidding of the war power, there is some satisfaction in knowing that they cannot speak to the prejudice of a white man. We have no sympathy for the misdemeanor for which, by Judge Aldrich's quite lawful sentence, the rescued culprit would have received a flogging; but we have grave doubts whether a simple robbery should condemn a Saxon to the degrading punishment meted for the sons of Ham.

As for the general's excuse, which might be taken for a slant at slavery, we feel sure that no innuendo was intended. The lash, he said, was contrary to the "spirit of civilization that pervades society at the present day." He was speaking not from a Northern, but a military, point of view. He remembered that the odious instrument had been expelled from the American army and navy, and that here, as in Prussia under Stein, and everywhere, in fact, that the experiment has been tried, the morale of the service has been immediately and palpably elevated. It is not strange that the gallant general should have applied the principles of the organization which he adorns to the civil society of which he has temporary custody. Not, be it understood, that we approve the logic of this application. It may be very well to argue from a white soldier to a white citizen; but from a negro regiment to the black race a deduction as to discipline would not be permissible—nay, would be absolutely heretical. Happily, in the case which arose in Charleston, the color of the offender and the humane reasoning of Gen. Bennett harmonized perfectly together; and we shall refuse to assume in advance that the latter would, from any false sentiment of consistency, be as prompt to interpose in behalf of a dark-skinned depredator. Meanwhile his action in the premises is fairly deserving of commendation, and will receive it from all those patriots who think that if the Government is to meddle at all with the affairs of the South, it is time some attention was given to the poor white as well as to the negro.

The special attention of the reader is directed to the *Financial Review* on another page. Its place among the advertisements is by no means significant of its value, but is resorted to only that we may obtain the latest intelligence of the market.

Articles on any of the subjects usually discussed in this journal will be received from any quarter. If used, they will be liberally paid for; if rejected, they will be returned to the writers on the receipt of the requisite amount of postage stamps.

All Communications which pertain to the literary management of THE NATION should be addressed to the Editor.

### THE DUTY OF THE HOUR.

If we may judge from the proceedings during the past week, and from what we hear of the state of opinion in the capital, Congress has become fully aware that the President is—to speak plainly—a very “ugly customer,” and that the less he is stirred up by mere railing, the better for all parties. Mr. Lincoln’s almost unparalleled gentleness and self-restraint, and the success with which Mr. Johnson managed for awhile to imitate him, got several members both of the House and Senate into habits of carelessness about their language, from which the speech of Thursday week thoroughly roused them. Mr. Johnson is clearly, whatever his principles may be, wanting both in the temper and sense of decorum for which Mr. Lincoln was distinguished, and it is now evident that anybody who assails him may fairly expect him to reply in terms more forcible than decent. One of his most thorough-going advocates, the *New York Times*, ascribes the late speech to the influence of the old associations of the stump and cross-roads in Tennessee—where politicians, we may explain, are in the habit of saying whatever comes uppermost, with the understanding that they are “personally responsible” for it—that is, willing to shoot at or be shot by anybody who objects to it.

This is an exceedingly inconvenient habit for a President to carry with him to Washington; but there is now no help for it. We must take Mr. Johnson as he is, and make the best of him. His outbreak against the radical leaders was vulgar, indecent, and alarming; but we confess that, for our part, we did not need it to convince us of the gross impropriety of the manner in which Thaddeus Stevens and others have allowed themselves to talk of him. It was their indiscretion which not led to his, but furnished an excuse or occasion for his. Anybody in landing from a steamboat at a New York wharf will probably think of a good many unpleasant remarks which he would, on moral grounds, be justified in making on the manners and customs of the hackmen; but if he chooses to make them, he can hardly complain if he is treated to a torrent of abuse in return. The best excuse Mr. Stevens can make for comparing Mr. Johnson to Charles I. is, that he did not know what kind of a person he was dealing with. Now that he does know, we hope we shall hear no more of this kind of talk. If we saw anything that could be gained by suggestions about cutting the President’s head off, we should pardon a speaker for indulging in them—perhaps even indulge in them ourselves. But we do not.

There is an additional reason for refraining rigidly from violent language towards Mr. Johnson to be found in the fact that he is evidently “spiling for a fight.” The tenor of his speeches and replies to deputations shows it, and the very worst service any public man can render his country is to furnish him with an opportunity to engage in one. There has probably been nothing more outrageously sophistical—we shall not use any stronger term—uttered by any Northern Copperhead since the war began than the passage in the President’s reply, on Friday last, to the Baltimore delegation, in which he placed the Northern Abolitionists in the same category with the Southern rebels, and accused them of an equally strong desire to break up the Government. We shall say nothing of the insult offered to the moral sense of the civilized world in the insinuation than an attempt to break up a political fabric in order to destroy slavery, and an attempt to break it up in order to preserve and perpetuate slavery, can be placed on the same moral level; or of the insult offered to the loyal States in characterizing men like Charles Sumner with being enemies of the Union in the same sense that Toombs and Wigfall were enemies of it. What we do say is, that Mr. Johnson’s indulgence in such talk proves that he has got into a state of mind which makes it the duty of all prudent and patriotic men to abstain from wordy war with him, to entrench themselves behind law and propriety, and on no pretext be tempted to come down into the arena for a bout of epithets or threats with him.

It ought never to be forgotten, too, that he is to be President for the

next three years; that there is no legal mode of getting rid of him; and that his must be the hand which must execute all measures of reconstruction, no matter who may endorse them. Congress may pass the finest laws in the world, and even if he do not veto them, or his veto be overcome, they must depend on him for their efficacy. The mere exercise of his undisputed right to control the army might, if he now chose to pervert it, work incalculable mischief. We hear some talk of impeaching him, but we are sorry to hear it, because it is talk which sensible men ought not to indulge in at a crisis so grave. He has done nothing, and need not do anything even to accomplish the worst objects which his enemies ascribe to him, to merit impeachment or to afford the shadow of a foundation for any charge on which an impeachment could rest. Impeachment is a judicial process, and the offences to which it applies are defined by law and must be supported by legal evidence. We need hardly say that talking nonsense to mobs in the street is not amongst the number. Moreover, there would be no chance of securing a conviction, and, if he was convicted, it would have no moral weight. Any process arising out of his course on the reconstruction problem would to many honest men appear a piece of party persecution, and would divide the North, convulse the country, and seriously imperil the public credit, and might prove the beginning of a series of revolutions and pronunciamientos that would soon seal our ruin. The recent utterances of the *Chicago Times*, recommending the President to break Congress up by a *coup d’état*, and the practice pursued by the *World* of keeping the term “Rump Congress” as a standing head for its report of Congressional proceedings, give us a little glimpse of the pit which our enemies would fain prepare for us.

Nor do we consider the enquiry which is now being conducted by many writers and speakers into the immediate causes of the President’s late shortcomings a very profitable or very edifying one. Whether it be his personal habits that create his mental or moral defects we consider a very nauseous and utterly useless subject of investigation. A man’s conduct, whether good or bad, is generally due to a composition of causes, and, except as a psychological study, there is not the least use in trying to find out what these causes are, unless the discovery is likely to aid in changing his character. But we doubt if many are simple enough to suppose that the contributions which are made to the gossip of the hour on this point by hangers-on at Washington hotels and newspaper offices are likely to help in the solution of the problem now before the country.

The course of all good men at the North seems to us clear enough. It is, first of all to keep their temper and cultivate moderation of language; and then to lose no opportunity of keeping the real issue before the country, letting the people hear constantly what it is that is involved in the plan of reconstruction which Mr. Johnson is urging forward, what its dangers are, what the limits of his authority are, and what are his true relations to Congress. It must not be forgotten that he has both in his veto and his speech appealed most plausibly to the two dearest instincts of the American heart, love of a law-governed Union and hatred of arbitrary power; that he has consequently on his side a vast number of the best men at the North, and amongst them thousands of those who were foremost in carrying on the war and in overthrowing slavery. Therefore he must be met by arguments, and the arguments must come from cool heads as well as ready tongues. His fallacies must be exposed, his evidence overhauled, the consequences of his action pointed out, and the conscience of the nation kept constantly alive, until his powers of mischief, if he really means mischief, are at an end. Neither railing nor violence can save us, and those who doubt the force, at a juncture like this, of the old weapons by which so many victories have been won for freedom and progress, pay Andrew Johnson a compliment which his warmest admirers would be ashamed to offer him.

### MAKE THE ISSUE PLAIN.

SPECIAL pleading is a science which has got a bad name; and this chiefly because of a mistaken notion of its object. It is (or was, for it has been largely legislated out of existence) a strictly logical process, the object of which is to eliminate everything from the presentation of law or fact to be tried that is

foreign to the case, and to reduce it to the exact and single issue to be passed upon. Its name has been perverted in common usage into another name for legal trickery. Still, there may be an abuse of special pleading by a crafty and unscrupulous advocate, especially if he be more than a match for the judge, which may substitute a false for a true issue and pervert the whole process of adjudication from its legitimate purposes. This is one of the chief arts of profligate politicians, and much mischief they have done by casting dust into the eyes of the people, who are the judges of all political issues in the last appeal, making them decide questions which are not before them by means of the ingenuity with which they are wrapped up with those that they intend to put at rest.

This is eminently the case at the present moment. All the arts of political chicanery are employed to divert the attention of the people from the real question, so that it may go by default while the side issues take up all the thoughts of the judges. All the chief pettifoggers in and out of Congress have been busy trying to darken counsel and to make the judges look at something else than the point they are to decide and which is to fix the law by a permanent precedent. And the leading counsel of all, on whom the people had relied chiefly for putting the case logically and distinctly before them, has summed up all the fallacies, and sought, honestly and soberly, if you will, but irregularly and unprofessionally, to substitute the consideration of them for that of the actual question. What the people have to make up their minds about and to settle by an authoritative judgment is, *not* whether the States lately in rebellion are bound by laws made in the absence of their representatives. It is *not* whether they are suffering taxation without representation. It is *not* whether they are ready to make any specified promises or to take any propounded oath. It is *not* whether the right of suffrage is a natural right or a political privilege. It is *not* whether every State has a constitutional right to decide who shall be voters within its own jurisdiction. It is *not*, even, whether men shall vote everywhere irrespective of race or color. It is none of these, nor of the host of other issues which are sprung on every side to make men look any way instead of in the right and true one.

The actual question now before Congress and the country is, whether the government of the eleven States lately in rebellion is to be given to the enemies of the nation, whose hands are just unclutched from her throat, or to her friends. If the people think that rebels, who do not pretend to be penitent even if they confess themselves conquered, should be invested with absolute power over all the inhabitants of their States or sojourners within them, including the negroes whom the people themselves have just set free, and that, besides this, they should be allowed their full weight in the government of the nation which a little year ago they were doing their utmost to destroy, the people can so decide, and from their decision there is no appeal, excepting to themselves in a soberer hour. But let them have this issue always kept unmistakably before them. Let them not think that they are deciding against Executive usurpation, or against taxation without representation, or against Federal interference with the reserved rights of the States, or in favor of the effectual restoration of all the States to the Union. The question is, Shall one half the country be absolutely governed, and the whole be in danger of being controlled, by its enemies rather than its friends? If this point can be kept clearly before the public mind, separate from all entangling alliances, we have no fear as to the result. And it is important that this should be done quite as much for the interests of the rebel as of the loyal States. There can be no substantial peace until this question is put at rest, and peace is more essential to them than to us.

If, as we are fully convinced, there is no man or class of men desirous of keeping the eleven States out of Congress for the sake of keeping them out; if, as we believe, there is no thought of punishment at the bottom of any of the propositions presented to Congress in regard to the rebel States, it is certainly important that no advantage should be given those who will endeavor to assume the contrary in the discussion of these propositions before the people. No pains should be grudged to make it plain to the weakest intellect that it is self-preservation solely that makes us pause. The question is as to the means

most expedient to be used for that end. It is only unscrupulous politicians, demagogues, pettifoggers, darkeners of counsel, who raise any other question. Even those who most fiercely object to the President's policy, when the depths of their rhetoric are sounded, will be found to say and mean simply: If the rebels are truly penitent, let them bring forth fruits meet for repentance. They must give some proofs of feeling that they have sinned before God, and in the sight of the nation, before even Mr. Seward would slay the fatted calf to give them welcome. They have kept themselves out of Congress and out of their rights as members of the Union for more than four years. Is it hard measure to keep them out for one or two years longer till they have shown themselves fit to be trusted with their own government and ours? Even if it is hard measure, must those who advocate it as reasonable, just, and prudent, be placed on the same footing as the rebels? Surely, this is the height of sophistry.

Let the issue be but fairly made, and there need be no fear that any fulminations from the White House, or any fascination of Copperheads, charm they never so wisely, will alter the fixed resolve of the people of the United States that not only slavery, but all its works, shall perish from off the earth. They have not poured out their blood and treasure like water in order to deliver themselves up to their enemies after the victory has been won. Certainly not, if this is the plain English of all the circumlocution that is uttered from either House or from Presidential balcony, and they can be made to see it. Let the issue be made clear, and they will sustain Congress in keeping the doors of the Capitol locked in the face of all comers whose record is not clean, either through innocence or repentance, and prophetic of safe and patriotic counsels, as surely as they sustained it in every measure for the more vigorous prosecution of the war. No recent rebel, in haste to get into power again, is fit to be trusted with it. No honest Union man will complain of being obliged to wait if his admission would open the way to the man who sought his life. But, whether so or not, it is the clear duty of Congress to refuse to restore States or men to power over us as well as over their own people until they have given evidence of a change of heart, or, at least, have given bonds for their future good behavior. And on this issue, clearly stated, they may safely appeal to the people at the polls.

#### THE GOOD SIDE OF FENIANISM.

THE Fenians have been thrown into a terrible state of excitement by the news of the suspension of the *habeas corpus* in Ireland, and President O'Mahony has issued a call to arms, and all the governing bodies of the organization are meeting to take measures adapted to the emergency. What is most curious in the expression of their feelings just now is, that they pronounce the arbitrary arrests of their members, by a power against which they have declared war, an atrocious outrage. Logically, they are estopped, however, from claiming the benefits of a constitution which they have repudiated, and, as far as they are concerned, they are entitled to nothing on Irish soil except the protection of the laws of war. It is absurd to challenge people to the field of battle and then denounce them for not submitting to be sued in damages for assault and false imprisonment.

As to the "measures" which the Fenians here are likely to adopt to save their brethren in Ireland from the Lord Lieutenant and the police, we need hardly say that the appearance of the American branch of the brotherhood on Irish soil with muskets is not likely to be of the number. Whatever can be done for the deliverance of the victims of British tyranny by speeches and processions in the United States will be done, and that faithfully; and if the British Government is not frightened into releasing them by the remonstrances of George Francis Train and Col. John O'Mahony, all that can be said is that the British Government is even more cruel and depraved than it was supposed to be.

The sudden resort of the English Ministry to this measure has not surprised many people who have paid much attention to the course of events in Ireland during the past three months. The gentry in the south and west of the island have been for nearly the whole of that period suffering from a panic, and have, in many instances, had their

houses barricaded, and large stores of arms and ammunition laid in, and been imploring protection from the Government. The Orangemen of Ulster have been for the last month rapidly arming themselves, and been threatening to take the law into their own hands and put down Fenianism by a Protestant rising, so that if the matter had gone a little further there was a strong probability that the Government would have found itself charged with the suppression not simply of a rebellion, but of a civil war. Moreover, it was clearly impossible to suppress the movement by the ordinary process of law, as the island appears to be plentifully supplied with "agents" from this side, whose secret was well enough kept to defy legal proceedings, though, perhaps, not well enough to avoid suspicion. With the *habeas corpus* suspended, there will probably be a general "descent" upon all persons suspected of Fenian proclivities, and the great plot will find its denouement, as so many Irish plots have done before, in the thirty-two county gaols of the Irish kingdom, and John O'Mahony will be left to lament, amidst the débris of the organization, over the rascality of traitors and the corrupting influence of "British gold."

There is, however, a serious and interesting side to the affair. The first palpable result of the Fenian movement has been what we expected it would be, the postponement for an indefinite period of the efforts which the English liberals and the sane and intelligent portion of the Irish population were making to procure the abolition of the Established Church, and the settlement of the land question. For the enemies of these two great measures of reform, nothing could have come more opportunely than the Fenian outbreak, as we see by the result of the motion made in the House of Commons for a commission of enquiry, its supporters, including John Stuart Mill, finding themselves nineteen in all, with the rest of the House against them. The argument that to debate Irish grievances then would look like succumbing to Fenian intimidation, was of course overwhelming to the great mass of English members; the subject was kicked out summarily, and the *habeas corpus* suspended a few days later in a single sitting.

This result has so often been brought about before in the same way, and Irish reform thus converted into a sort of treadmill labor, in which perpetual toil brings no progress, that one would suppose Irish "patriots" would by this time have learned wisdom and mended their ways; but, for some inscrutable reason, every one of their abortive attempts at revolution seems to leave behind it a larger crop of fools than ever. It is quite true that as little disposition is manifested in the English House of Commons to redress Irish grievances in quiet as in troublous times. When the Irish are silent, the answer to all demands for reform is that the country is tranquil; when they are rebellious, they are told that her Majesty's Government must not be bullied. So that the time has never yet come when the English public were ready to acknowledge that the Irish difficulty had to be faced. But to put this difficulty before the English public in its full magnitude, to break through the glass of prejudice, pride, passion, and contempt through which Englishmen are apt to regard Irish questions, time is necessary, long years of peaceful, persistent, reasoning agitation, such an agitation as Englishmen and Scotchmen will respect. This there are plenty of able and sensible Irishmen ready to carry on, sighing for the chance of carrying on, but just as they are beginning to make themselves heard and to overcome the popular English indifference to Irish troubles, come the O'Mahonys and the B. Doran Killians and all the rest of the herd of wordy, brazen-faced, brazen-lunged orator and adventurers, and again plunge the whole cause into ridicule and ruin by some astounding outburst of folly—an attack on the British empire with fifty pikemen, or an attempt to capture the British fleet with a fishing smack.

There is, however, about Fenianism one consoling feature, which leads us to hope that it may really serve the purpose of manuring a respectable tree of Irish liberty, and which is worth the notice of every student of history. Our readers may remember that in an early number of THE NATION we accounted, not for Irish grievances, but for the futility and absurdity of such attempts to remedy them, by alleging that the Irish people were one or two stages behind all other Western races in political development. They are, in fact, the only Christian people of Europe who are still governed by the political ideas of a thousand years ago. They, in the first place, carry the clan feeling

of devotion to persons rather than principles into all political contests; and, in the second, have never until now succeeded in separating religion from politics. What is remarkable in this Fenian movement is that in it, for the first time, politics have been completely secularized in the minds of a very large body of the Irish people. The movement is entirely independent of the Church, is condemned by the clergy is carried on without reference to its religious bearing, and owes all its force to considerations wholly mundane. This is unquestionably an indication of great progress, and, as such, is worthy of note, as no matter what the fate of the Fenian movement may be, and it can have but one, it foreshadows the possibility of a sympathy and co-operation between Irishmen and the liberal and progressive men of other races and countries which has hitherto been out of the question.

#### HOW TO OFFICER THE REGULAR ARMY.

THE proceedings of Congress will be searched in vain for any practical project of officering the regular army with men of ability. There is much talk everywhere about the size of the future military establishment, a matter which the necessities of the times will regulate more decisively than any legislative acts. But on the far more important point of elevating the morale of the national troops and strengthening the national power by providing efficient officers, it would seem as if all the lessons of the war had been wasted. Only the crudest and most ill-considered plans are proposed,—such as the resolution of the Ohio Legislature, presented to the House by Mr. Schenck, regarding the appointment of volunteer officers in the proposed addition to the regular army. No one seems to comprehend the nature of the military profession, the peculiar character it develops everywhere, or to be acquainted with the customs and traditions which have in this country shaped the management of the army.

The inevitable tendency of military life long pursued is to dwarf the intellectual powers. Exceptions may and do exist in the cases of persons occupying peculiar positions, or possessing a peculiar mental constitution; but as a general rule it is safe to say that, after a certain point, the longer a man stays in the army, the less he knows. The profession has no healthy contact or competition with other professions. Its members are shut out not simply from all those opportunities and influences which develop and encourage literary taste and effort, but also from the wide social and political sympathies, the thoughts and feelings, which take up the hearts and lives of other men, and which build up strong characters through the agency of moral qualities reacting upon the mind. These things, true at any time of any army, are aggravated with us by the insignificant size of our military establishment and by the traditions which have prevailed in its management. The former is a necessity; but there is no good reason why the customs of the service in the internal administration of the army should any longer set aside the dictates of common sense. The national troops can never be furnished with efficient officers under any plan now proposed; and there is no better way of showing what the condition of things will be if no radical changes are made, than by showing what it has been.

The army has generally been so small that entrance into it has been difficult, and promotion in it, even under the most favorable circumstances, has been slow; and as if to cut off every attraction to men of talent and every effort for distinction, entrance into it has depended not upon capacity but upon political influence, and promotion in it not upon merit, nor entirely upon seniority. The natural tendency has been to drive the men of ability and ambition belonging to it into other professions. This was seen in the most marked manner in the long period of peace which prevailed from 1815 to 1861, unbroken save by the petty episode of the Mexican war. With now and then an exception, the ablest officers, after a few years of service, entered upon some civil pursuit. A sketch of the life lived and the character developed by any one of those who remained will serve as a sketch for nearly all. His earlier years were spent in very petty fighting or very serious flirting, according as he was stationed at Fort Laramie or at Fort Lafayette. These pursuits were diversified by occasional trips around the country at the expense of the Government, under the guise of recruiting. As he advanced in years his opinions and acts ran more and more in the

same old ruts which had been worn deep by the customs and feelings of the class to which he belonged. He became terrible in details. Knew the regulations by heart, and considered the laws of honor as constituting the highest moral code. From principle, from education, and from habit he shunned responsibility. He took no risks. He rarely issued an important order, no matter how pressing the necessity, without first writing or telegraphing for instructions. He was generally as careful to save money for the Government as many of his successors have been to defraud it. "He hated," to use the language of a correspondent, "all changes whatever, but especially any which required him to learn over what he had once learned; clung to the musket with its buck-and-ball cartridge with all the fervor of a first love, regarded rifles as an invention of the adversary, and looked upon breech-loaders as anathema maranatha. As he grew old he grew fond of drinking, and indulged in a mild kind of gambling as his principal pastime. In justice to him, it is to be said that he usually got drunk on good liquor, and, until these days of high duties and cheap excesses, disdained whiskey. Whether professing religion or not, on occasions whose importance seemed to demand it he swore. Thirty to forty years of solitary life, of hard frontier service, and harder drinking, dissipated at last what few brains he had had originally. As he rose in rank he sank in intellect, so that he usually attained about the same time to a full colonelcy and hopeless imbecility. Lingered in this position a few years, he finally dropped into his grave from a life in which he had learned to look upon fussiness as activity, and a knowledge and strict performance of trivial duties and points of military etiquette as the highest test of soldierly proficiency."

This is no doubt an exaggerated picture. But it would probably have been impossible to find any profession in which the ability of the members averaged so low as that of the officers of the regular army who were in actual service at the breaking out of the late war. The exception in the case of a few of the rebel leaders was more an apparent than a real one, and the state of society which caused even this exception has now passed away. In the South, the system of slavery, by bringing all labor into contempt, had the tendency to make the pursuit of arms one of the few avenues to position and success. Many of their ablest men consequently chose it, and some remained in it. But it was not so in the North, as the melancholy failure of nearly all of those officers showed who, by virtue of holding high positions in the regular army, were given at first important commands in the volunteer service. They proved themselves as incapable of commanding the vast bodies of men they nominally led, as they were of comprehending the character of the struggle in which they were engaged. They gained no successes, save by accident, and failed to improve the very victories into which they had blundered. Their self-sufficiency and incompetency would have been laughable had not national unity been the stake for which, and human lives the counters with which, this game was played.

In every country the higher offices of the army are apt to be filled by such men in time of peace. There is danger now that we will again drift into this state. For, in addition to the natural tendency of men to compromise and half-way measures, there are many influences which work against any radical change in the manner of officering the army. Senators and representatives are unwilling to give up the privilege of conferring positions in the service on the relatives of influential constituents. Prominent members of the Veteran Reserve Corps have been, ever since the close of the war, earnestly endeavoring to induce Congress to inflict upon the national army the organized indolence of that body. Senator Wilson expects to grind out competent officers through the agency of examining-boards, which will be just as worthless in the future as they have been in the past. Without stopping to discuss the various plans proposed, we simply give four essential changes which, in our judgment, will commend themselves to the common sense of practical men everywhere, and will agree with the conclusions of most thinking military men who are not wedded to the traditions and policy of the past:

1. The abolition of the system of appointments as a means of admission to the Military Academy, and the opening of that institution, on impartial competitive examination, to every one wishing to

enter, subject only to the limitations of age, acquirements, and ability.

2. Promotion by seniority up to and including the grade of captain; above that grade by selection on the ground of merit and capacity. This selection, the most delicate and difficult of duties, to be entirely out from under the shadow of political influence, and entrusted solely to the higher officers of the army, whose approval shall be necessary to every such promotion, and who shall be held responsible for the fitness and character of the men they recommend.

3. The appointment of a limited number of officers from the ranks annually after strict competitive examination.

4. Prohibition of the appointment of any man from civil life as an officer unless he shall have previously served a specified time in the ranks, and then only upon examination. We print elsewhere a reply to some of our strictures on the condition of the Academy, from an esteemed correspondent, whose statements and opinions on this matter are worthy of all respect. Our former article was not intended, however, to be a denial of the value of the school, but a lamentation over the extent to which it had failed to accomplish what it ought to accomplish. We certainly never meant to stultify ourselves so far as to assert or imply that it had not produced many officers and scientific men of the highest rank.

#### A GLANCE AT THE STATE OF EUROPE.

WHEN, in the early summer of 1864, that double series of battles and marches was in progress on this continent which forms the most remarkable chapter in post-Napoleonic military history, the lighter din of arms which had for a time disturbed the peace of Europe gradually died away. Denmark, overwhelmed by her foes, paid the penance of national arrogance by submitting to the viler arrogance of conquering monarchs. Poland, once more prostrate, atoned in silence for another ebullition of the patriotism, fostered by despair, which attacks without counting the enemy. The half-exterminated Circassians commenced their exodus from the desolated forests and gorges of the Caucasus, wandering in destitution even as far as Tunis. This general cessation of hostilities was followed by a period of unbroken tranquillity, such as Europe rarely enjoys at once, from the Volga to the Tagus, as well as of monstrous dullness in politics. For a time all motion seemed to be suspended, and a deep stagnation or a new and violent convulsion likely to follow. Neither has taken place. Peace has remained unbroken to this day, no extraordinary events have occurred, but slow and natural developments have quite recently given rise to interesting situations in most of the countries of Europe. Let us cast a rapid glance over all of them.

To begin with the south-western corner of the continent. Portugal is starting on a career of progressive reforms, and instead of being, as formerly, coveted as a prey by her more powerful neighbor, her liberal young King, Don Luiz, has become a star of hope to all ardent minds of the Peninsula who dream of a united and free Iberian kingdom. In Spain the Bourbon throne has barely escaped a violent shock, and perhaps overthrow, with which it was menaced by the military insurrection under Prim; but the latter was too slight an outbreak, and accompanied by too little commotion, to be regarded as a happily passed-off volcanic eruption, which would leave the warring elements at rest for a time. The Government will try in vain to drown the deep-rooted dissatisfaction of the advanced classes of the people in the tumult of wars in South America, for these will only aggravate its financial embarrassment, the principal source of its troubles and weakness. Neither are Chili and Peru likely to enrich enervated Spain with more glory than did lately Mexico and St. Domingo. On the other side of the Pyrenees, too, warlike expeditions to America have served little to satisfy the higher aspirations of the nation, and their ill success, caused by the unexpected collapse of the Southern Confederacy, has placed Napoleon, an abler and mightier ruler than O'Donnell, in a position which leaves him no other alternative but reckless persistency or a shameful retreat, both equally fraught with danger to the artificial structure of the new French empire. The Corps Législatif is opened, *l'empereur s'excuse*, and the opposition is ready to open the attack.

No less interesting are the circumstances under which the

new British Parliament opens its first session. Momentous questions press upon it from every side. Reform is promised and expected. Fenianism undermines the ground in Ireland. Victorious America urges heavy claims for indemnification. There is trouble in Jamaica, Canada, New Holland. More impressive than all, a terrible plague scourges the rural districts. And all these storms old England has to weather at a moment when her most experienced and trusted helmsman, Palmerston, who so often successfully steered her ship of state, has just fallen. Belgium mourns the loss of a wise leader in her first king, and, under his son, a disciple of priests, enters upon an unknown sea, not unexpectant of tempests and rocks. Holland, who generally wears the mark (as Schiller says) of virtuous women and happy states in not being spoken of, now lies in the throes of a ministerial crisis. Denmark is engaged in remodelling her constitution so as to suit her now diminished proportions. Her happier Scandinavian sister, Sweden, has, without the impulsion of a shock from abroad, remodelled hers agreeably to the demands of the age and of justice, abolishing her unwieldy four legislative chambers, based upon caste, and introducing a more just and regular system of national representation in two houses. Russia, victorious over Poles, Caucasians, and caste, tries the first rudiments of representative government in her provincial assemblies, which are, however, so much under the direct guidance and control of the imperial authorities as to be denounced by the opposition as serving rather to limit the old autonomy of the municipalities than to create a self-rule in the *gubernias*. The work of denationalizing Poland and converting it—*per fas et nefas*—into a homogeneous part of the empire, is pushed forward with remorseless rigor, the means used to obtain this object in Lithuania being little less tyrannical than those employed by Philip II. against the Moriscoes. While the Czar is thus engaged in reforming his empire, Turkey enjoys a period of comparative peace and quiet, though the elements of decomposition are steadily at work in her inner structure. Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro, it is true, have ceased to trouble the divan of Stamboul with their periodic outbreaks, but Moldo-Wallachia is consolidating her independence under Prince Couza, a protégé and disciple of Napoleon; and Servia, under Michael Obrenovitch, is watching events in adjoining Hungary and Croatia, to avail herself of new contingencies to extend her autonomy and territorial power.

Greece, aggrandized by the annexation of the Ionian Isles, shows under her new Dano-German dynasty, no less restlessness than she did under the rule of the Bavarian Otho, being divided by a violent desire for outward expansion and an equally violent impatience of royal encroachments within. Italy advances, not without shocks or stumblings, but steadily, towards the territorial and moral consummation of her national unity. The period fixed by the Convention of Paris for the evacuation of Rome by the French troops is approaching its termination. Pio Nono's sands of life are, apparently, near running out, and Antonelli and the lower pillars of the Church are unable to prevent the Government of Florence from executing its measures tending to emancipate the state from the shackles of the clergy, and partially to appropriate the domains of the latter. Unpopular as La Marmora's cabinet is, it is firmly supported by the bulk of the people against both extremes of the opposition, which, by their nature, are unable to combine in an effort for its overthrow. Austria has ceased to threaten, and Francis the Second, late of Naples, can do nothing but mourn the melting away of his "brigand" hosts.

On the other side of the Alps, Switzerland, though failing in an attempt to carry through a systematic revision of the federal constitution, has made a great step in advance by adopting the amendments conferring equality of rights on native and naturalized citizens of all religious denominations, by which the greatest blot on the Swiss charters has been erased. The great "empire of the centre," Germany, tries in vain to march one national way. Every step towards unity is followed by two towards complete dissolution. The Schleswig-Holstein war has made this more apparent, and the impotence of the *Bund* as well as of the nation more glaring than ever. Those Duchies are kept illegally out in the cold; the Duchy of Lauenburg has, as illegally, been appropriated by Prussia. The Diet

of the latter kingdom vainly protests against this as well as other usurpations of the Crown. The Diet speaks, Bismark acts. The condition of the minor states, of which Bavaria and Würtemberg have new kings, is not much more encouraging to the friends of a free and united Germany, while Austria seems entirely to have stepped out of the German communion, led by her endeavor to reconcile the Hungarian nation. For the moment the Austrian centre of gravity seems to have been transferred from Vienna, which is now deprived of its Reichsrath, to Pesth, where an imposing Hungarian Diet holds its sittings, where Francis Joseph plays the Magyar, and utters solemn vows of good behavior in that language, and where the future of the empire seems really to be trembling in the balance. Austria will come out of this experiment either as a constitutional Hungaro-Germano-Slavic confederation or as a newly centralized absolute realm, in both cases, probably, with irremediable germs of dissolution in her bosom. The spectacle at Pesth is, in the meanwhile, the most interesting, the grandest appearance on the checkered board of European politics.

Thus there appear movements, not unaccompanied by progress, almost everywhere in Europe. The most violent process seems to take place in Austria, the most powerful in Russia, the most natural and progressive in Italy, the least perceptible in France. Thus it appears to-day: who will venture to say what aspects to-morrow's day will present?

### WHO SHALL ELECT A STATE CONVENTION?

WE give place, with much pleasure, to a communication from an esteemed correspondent questioning the soundness of our views upon the subject of elections for delegates to a State convention. We fully comprehend that the new application which we gave, in our article of February 22, to an old doctrine, will startle most persons who have not thoroughly studied the question. Discussion is to be welcomed, since the interest excited by discussion will finally impress the truth all the more deeply upon the public mind.

In the first place, it is essential that the *facts*, upon the basis of which the argument is to be conducted, should be agreed upon. According to our ideas, there can be no question as to the following points:

1. That, at the organization of the existing Federal Government, none of the States except South Carolina restricted the suffrage to white men by any express words.
2. That, as a matter of fact, free men of color exercised the right of voting in all the States with the like exception.
3. That there is not, and never has been, in any State, a permanent and general provision, by constitution or statute, regulating the mode of choosing a State convention—at least so far as the qualifications of electors are concerned.
4. That, in a majority of the States, and especially in this State, conventions have been repeatedly summoned and held, notwithstanding the total absence of all authority for such proceedings in the constitutions of the States.
5. That the members of a State convention never take the oath to support the constitution of their State, which is required by every such constitution from State officers.
6. That such a convention is subject to no restrictions whatever, except such as may be imposed by the United States or by the law summoning the convention, or except, possibly, an obligation to submit its work to a popular vote—which last points must be considered doubtful.

Our correspondent objects to our use of the word "revolution," in connection with proceedings so orderly and peaceable as the framing of a new constitution. He thinks a "normal revolution" a contradiction in words. Yet Webster defines the word as simply meaning "a material or entire change in the constitution of government." Surely revolutions may be peaceful. If the Emperor of France should to-morrow, conscience-smitten, resign his throne, and dismiss his legislature, and thereupon the people should quietly, and in perfect order, elect a Constituent Assembly, and establish a republic, would not that be a revolution? Now the calling of a State convention is an act precisely analogous to this. It is intended that the convention, when it

meets, shall have absolute power to abrogate the whole existing government, and to substitute a new one. It may or may not *use* that power, but the *power* is there, and was meant to be placed there. Thus the last convention in New York displaced every judicial officer in the State, except justices of the peace, and unseated three-fourths of the State Senate before the expiration of the terms for which they were elected. In Missouri, two successive conventions within the last five years have swept out hundreds of officers. The first of those conventions (elected in January, 1861) removed every important officer in the State in one day, from the governor and legislature downwards. What revolution could be more sweeping than this?

Our entire frame of government having been revolutionary in its origin, the American people have universally held the right of revolution sacred, and have sought to recognize it so effectually that its exercise, being always undisputed, might be always peaceable. According to their interpretation, this right of revolution means neither more nor less than the right of the majority of the whole State to change at will the form of State government, so far as it can be done without infringing upon the rights of the national Government. Nearly all the constitutions adopted within the last forty years recognize this principle in the clearest language. The constitutions of Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas, for example, while explicit in defining the persons who are "qualified electors," and invariably using that phrase in every paragraph which refers to popular elections, are nevertheless equally explicit in asserting that *the people* have an absolute right at all times to change their form of government. Why did they not use the words "qualified electors" in that clause as well as in the half-dozen widely separated clauses which relate to elections? They declare that the governor shall be chosen by the "qualified electors," in another article that the Senate shall be chosen by the "qualified electors," in yet another article that the Lower House shall be chosen by the "qualified electors," in still another that the judges shall be chosen by the "qualified electors," and so on through the whole range of elective officers. Why this wearisome iteration, why this accuracy of definition, if the word "people" would have meant the same thing? And why should we assume that men who were so careful to express their exact meaning in every article of the organic law except one, became loose and inaccurate in shaping the language of that one?

In truth, there was no mistake and no want of comprehension of the meaning of language in framing these constitutions. Our correspondent suggests the key to the whole mystery when he says that the doctrine which we now advocate was maintained long ago "by many of those calling themselves, *par excellence*, 'the Democrats.'" Precisely so, except that for "many" we should read "most." This was one main foundation of the strength of the Democratic party. When Thomas Jefferson founded it, a majority of the States restricted the right of suffrage to property holders. The Federalists in general supported these restrictions, and dreaded to admit the whole people into political rights. The Democratic party threw itself upon the support, and asserted the rights, of *the whole people*, in opposition to the exclusive franchises of the property owners. Wherever, in the Northern States at any rate, it obtained power, it used it to extend the area of equal rights. In Connecticut it broke down the old election laws, which limited the suffrage to a minority of the people. In New York it brought about, step by step, universal suffrage. In Rhode Island it struggled for forty years, until, by an attempt at forcible revolution, it compelled the ruling powers to meet it more than half-way. In North Carolina it fought on the same side until 1850 before attaining complete success. These, be it observed, were *State* issues, and did not, therefore, appear in the national platform of the party; but they contributed more than any national issue to its strength; and now that the party is utterly apostate and rotten, the indistinct memory of these old struggles and triumphs in the cause of a broader liberty is the secret of the amazing vitality of the party organization.

Now, it was in full view of this conflict between the *electors* and the *people* that these Southern and Western States framed their constitutions when they made the distinction to which we have referred. True, they made the basis of representation as broad as they thought desirable in any case. But the conventions of these States, during the period of

which we speak, invariably contained a large majority of Democrats. They strongly sympathized with their political brethren in other States where the suffrage was restricted. For their sakes, and for the sake of the general principle, the conventions *meant* to, and did, make a clear distinction between the electors and the people, asserting a right in the latter to disregard all the fetters of constitutions and laws when framing a new government, and a right to frame such new government at their pleasure.

These views will be found very clearly expressed in an article in the "Democratic Review" for July, 1842, written by one of the foremost lawyers of the Union, who now takes an active part in resisting the very doctrine which he then supported. Almost the entire Democratic party endorsed this doctrine when the Dorr Government sought to enforce it in Rhode Island. Nor does the result of that controversy prejudice this theory, as our correspondent seems to suppose. Nothing was ever judicially determined, except in the Rhode Island courts, that such action must be taken under the forms of law and in the United States courts, that the political branches of the Federal Government must decide between conflicting State governments.

We cannot in this article cite many authorities, but we will briefly refer to one or two, and may enlarge their number on another occasion.

In Stewart *ag. Foster* (2 Binney, 110), the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania held that under a charter which authorized all "inhabitants" of Pittsburgh, paying taxes, to vote, *aliens* had a right to vote. Yeates, J., said that females, minors, slaves, and servants for years, could not vote.

In Comyn's Digest (Parliament, D. 10), it is said to have been adjudged on the 8th of May, 1626, that, in elections for a borough, all burgesses ought to vote, unless there is a usage to the contrary, *time out of mind*. And that in a borough which has no burgesses, and no such custom, all householders had a right to vote.

There is certainly no immemorial usage to exclude colored men from voting. Within the recollection of living men, they voted everywhere except in South Carolina, and there they were excluded by positive law, and not by mere custom. When the Democratic party began to fight its battles for the extension of the franchise, there were so few free negroes that it did not occur to the party leaders to exclude them. Afterwards, as they increased in number, they were excepted from the benefit of laws extending the suffrage; but it was too late to exclude them from the benefit of the general principle that the people should govern. It was obviously unnecessary to except slaves, since in the eye of the law they were mere property, and of course no part of the people.

We cannot, at this time, carry our argument further, although it is by no means exhausted. To sum up, we maintain that the people, in a political sense, are all human beings permanently residing in a State who have not been excluded from political rights by the immemorial and universal usage of these United States; that a majority of this people in any State have the supreme power at their discretion to frame its government unfettered by any existing laws. We say that this doctrine has been maintained and enforced by the party which has been dominant for fifty years of our history; that it has been embodied into the organic law of many of our States, especially at the South; that it has been acted upon in this State; and that it is the unwritten law of every State. It lies at the foundation of our whole government, it is an indispensable condition of freedom everywhere, and if it is now repudiated, it will be in the power of any State convention, purchased by bribes or influenced by the spirit of oligarchy, to place the control of the State for ever in the hands of a minute fraction of the community.

#### EXCELLENCE AND ACCIDENT.

It was in the last year of that administration which almost the toss of a penny had decided should be Thomas Jefferson's and not Aaron Burr's, that the radical change was made in the constitutional method of filling the two highest offices in the gift of the nation. This change was natural and inevitable. It was brought about by the rise of parties, and, with the gradual perfection of their discipline, the new mode has assumed its present definiteness. No longer do the people trust

unpledged electors to choose the fittest citizens of the republic to occupy the White House and preside over the Senate, nor are they content to ballot vaguely for the best interests of the State rather than for the success of favorite leaders, committed to well-known measures and policies. They dislike to incur the constant risk of a divided administration, and of electors who should disappoint their expectations. They prefer decidedly to enter upon a contest of which the end may be pretty certainly reckoned from the beginning, which could rarely happen as between parties distinguished only by principles and deprived of the personal influence of candidates.

Nevertheless, the old way had advantages which cannot be depreciated, and in theory it must be allowed to have been the more perfect and rational of the two. Its superiority was manifested especially in the dignity which it attached to the office of Vice-President, and in the care with which, when selecting this officer, it nominated him whom the majority, hesitating to pronounce the best, had declared the second best among possible rulers. Thus Adams succeeded Washington, and Jefferson Adams, by a purely logical progression; and if the various parties which, since the Constitution was amended in regard to the electoral college, have triumphed for longer or shorter periods, had conscientiously proposed to the popular suffrage their two most honored representatives, we should have had more than a single example of a like sequence in the present century. Mr. Van Buren was the last Vice-President that ever rose any higher.

That specious sectional balance which, from the first, hampered liberty of selection with considerations of North and South, was preserved till the time of Jackson and Calhoun, remembering whose illustrious and orthodox example the Democracy of 1860 might have spared their denunciations of the Lincoln and Hamlin conjunction, after an interval, to be sure, in which the balance had not again been interrupted. The abolition of slavery has removed the pretext for omitting to promote merit, wherever located in our common country, in order to appease the narrow jealousies of rival sections. The disposition, for the sake of victory, to choose an inferior man from a doubtful State whose vote it is important to obtain, has met so often, like other compromises, its proper reward, that it is time we also heard the last of "availability" and excluded the cheap appeal to State pride from the legitimate means of carrying an election. And if we shall ever again be guilty of disparaging the necessary qualifications of a vice-president, counting it a waste to exchange him for the second citizen of the republic, we shall deserve to, but it is to be hoped we never may, suffer more than we have all already done for such indifference and folly.

As one runs over the list of those who were, in view of possibilities, esteemed the peers of the Presidents with whom their names were coupled by the people, the later figures do not loom upon us like Adams and Jefferson—twin giants, not more close in office than in death; or good old Governor Clinton, of this State; or Governor Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, famous in local caricature for his "Salamander," but more creditably renowned for his refusal to sign the Constitution of the United States in the convention which framed it, because three-fifths of the blacks were to be represented as freemen; and who approved the abolition memorial submitted to the first Congress by Benjamin Franklin, who had "observed with real satisfaction that many important and salutary powers" were vested in them "for promoting the welfare and securing the blessings of liberty to the people of the United States," and had conceived "that these blessings ought rightfully to be administered, without distinction of color, to all descriptions of people." Burr and his treason soften almost into loyalty before the conspiracy of which Calhoun is the patron saint. Van Buren's name will chiefly endure along with and because of the despised Free-Soil party of 1848. His successor, Vice-President Richard M. Johnson, survives in the shadowy memory of Tecumseh. Mr. Dallas lived to be discomfited at a social science congress in England by Lord Brougham, who pointed the American Minister to a negro among the "assistants." Breckinridge will not escape history so easily as he did his betrayed native land.

To do them justice, the Vice-Presidents, as a rule, have not been so detestable, formidable, or contemptible as to induce the nation to pray for the health of their principals. Yet the career of Tyler and of Fill-

more might have opened our eyes to the importance of their office. The most horrible charge that has been brought against the American character is not, as some may suppose, that it produced a Booth, but that the lives of three of Mr. Lincoln's predecessors were attempted in order to effect a political *coup d'état*. Tyler's apostasy, if not the price of Harrison's removal, was a consequence which might confidently have been expected in the circumstances. Governor Foote, in his recent work on the war, betrays the alarm with which President Taylor inspired the South by his disposition to secure the Territories for freedom, and confirms the suspicion that he was taken off to make room for the complaisant signer of the Fugitive Slave Law and willing advocate of the compromises of 1850. The poisoning at a Washington hotel, to which Buchanan almost fell a victim, may not improbably be classed with the two instances just mentioned, since it is now apparent how far the then Vice-President could have been relied upon to serve the conspirators who, foreseeing their doom at the ballot-box, were preparing to expose their designs on the field of battle. Whether there be proof enough to sustain this theory, according to which our government becomes a republic "tempered by assassination," we leave to others to determine. That the slave power was capable of anything whereby it seemed likely to accomplish its nefarious purposes we do sincerely believe. However, there can be no question that the fitter the Vice-President to be the weak tool or wicked accomplice of any faction, the stronger must always be the temptation to get rid of an unpliant President. It may even hereafter transpire that the transformation which has come over our accidental Presidents has been wrought by a well-grounded fear of the fate of the last incumbent.

The reform which has been often suggested, of electing the President and Vice-President by the vote of the people, irrespective of State limits, would, for reasons already hinted at, ensure better servants of either degree. But the fundamental remedy for our past mistakes consists in placing as high a value upon the latter as upon the former; perhaps, also, in connecting him more intimately with the administration, as by making him, *ex officio*, a member of the Cabinet.

### MY DEAD.

Of my dead,  
In life, voices said,  
These are noble, these are great,  
And beautiful; we wait,  
And hold them lovingly.

Of my dead,  
In death, voices said,  
No sculptured beauty like this sleep  
Was ever seen! We, strangers, weep,  
And bear them reverently.

Of my dead,  
Out of death, led  
Immortal—I listen, holding breath  
And tears, and hear the things God saith  
In heaven, welcoming!

### CURIOSITIES OF LONGEVITY.

EVERYBODY likes to hear of cases of remarkable longevity. Everybody, indeed, affirms that he does not wish to attain to it himself, but nobody that we know of seems to be in any hurry to die in order to avoid it. It is a perfectly natural and laudable feeling, however. A very old person is a kind of living monument of past times; and this even if it be a slave who had never left his plantation, or a peasant who had lived out his century on the estate where he was born. What revolutions, what wars, what changes have come over the world since he first drew the breath of life! He has stood still, but what a marvellous procession of personages and events has swept over the earth since he has inhabited it! One cannot help thinking what a different world was the one he left from that he entered. This interest is naturally much greater and this sentiment stronger when the person exciting them has been an actor in the events or a companion of the personages that have so changed the face of things, or even if he have been but a spectator of the one and a chance acquaintance of the other. Such instances seem to connect and bring close together points of time which appear

to us infinitely distant from each other. There was the Marquis di Manso, for instance, who was the common friend of Tasso and of Milton, though the Italian died more than ten years before the English epic poet was born. It were almost worth one's while to have been dead two hundred years to have had such luck as that. Lady Louisa Stuart, the daughter of the famous Earl of Bute, whom our pre-Revolutionary sires used to burn vicariously in the similitude of a *boot*, died since 1850, and actually remembered her grandmother, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who died in 1762. She wrote the introductory anecdotes to Lord Wharnclyffe's edition of Lady Mary's works. She had seen every celebrity of the last half of the last century and known most of them, from Johnson down to Dickens and Tennyson, and was the intimate friend and correspondent of Scott, and one of the original depositaries of the secret of the authorship of the *Waverley* novels.

Rogers, "the bard, the beau, the banker," was almost exactly her contemporary, and must have known many personal acquaintances of Pope, Swift, and Gay, and possibly of Addison and Steele. The Berry sisters, who covered about the same period of time with their lives, and who might have been, one or both of them, Dowager Countess of Orford, as the widow of Horace Walpole, for more than fifty years were links connecting the long past with the present and bringing famous people of more than a century ago almost into contact with the present generation. Then "Queeny" Thrale, who was Johnson's "plaything often when a child" and his familiar acquaintance as a grown-up young lady, and to whom he gave his blessing on his death-bed, has not been ten years dead yet; she may have remembered Goldsmith, and certainly knew every other member of the Literary Club and every social and political celebrity of the last ninety years. She was the second wife of the great Admiral Lord Keith. But the instance of English longevity in the higher ranks which seems to have brought distant points of time nearest together was that of the Dowager Countess of Hardwicke, who died, in 1858, at near a hundred years old. Her father, the Scotch Earl of Balcarras, was "out in the Fifteen" with Lord Derwentwater and Forster, and his life was spared through the intercession of the great Duke of Marlborough. There were two lives of father and daughter which covered more than half of this century, all of the last, and ten years or more of the seventeenth! It is a little odd that a person should have been living eight years ago whose father was strictly a contemporary of the Old Pretender, of Pope and Chesterfield, of Voltaire, and a generation that looks to us as belonging to ancient history. He was, of course, well stricken in years when his daughter was born. But this was not the only curious fact about this longevous dame. Her grandfather was born in 1649, the year distinguished by the lesson in natural history which, according to old Lord Auchinleck, Boswell's father, was taught to kings, viz., that "they have a joint in their necks;" and when he married her grandmother, that most religious king, Charles II., gave away the bride.

Within the last month a long life came to an end in Boston, breaking one of the last links that connect the present times with those before the Revolution. In June, 1774, Copley, the great portrait-painter, the American Van Dyke, sailed for England in the last ship that left the port of Boston before the oppressive Port Bill which closed it went into effect. His three children, a son and two daughters, accompanied him. Two years ago all three of these children were alive. A few weeks since two of them were still living, and one yet survives in England. The son, we need hardly say, was the late Lord Lyndhurst, three times Chancellor, for many years the leader in the lords of the Tory party, and the originator, in his extreme old age, of some of the most important reforms that have ever been made in the English law. He was the Nestor of English statesmen, not only in having survived three generations of breathing men, but in eloquence and in political wisdom, both of which seemed to increase with his years, and were never more marked than when he was on the verge of fourscore and ten. The elder sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Copley Greene, died in Boston, about a month ago, at the age of ninety-five. This venerable lady closed a life as singularly prosperous and happy as it was long by a death of perfect tranquillity and ease. She furnished one of the rare instances of a life completely rounded, and ceasing from no disease or accident, but simply and purely because the vital machine had gradually and painlessly worn itself out and stopped. The growing infirmities of age had withdrawn her for some years from general society, of which she naturally stood at the head from her high social position; her dignified, graceful, and charming manners, her animated and varied conversation, and her kindness and friendliness of heart. She was liberal, hospitable, and charitable in the dispensing of a large estate, and discharged all the offices of a responsible position conscientiously and with dignity. She will long be remembered by those who had the privilege of her personal acquaintance as a most interesting example of one who had lived one life, as it were, in the last century, and with a generation which exists to us only in history

or tradition, before she had begun another long and various life in this hemisphere.

It was odd to sit and talk with one who had known Sir Joshua Reynolds familiarly, not as a child but as a young lady. Copley and Sir Joshua both lived on Leicester Square, which had not then been *mediatized* and reduced to its present dilapidated state. It was a well reputed place of residence in those days, and its flags were trodden by many a famous visitor of its inhabitants. The families of the president of the Academy and of Copley, one of its chief members, were on terms of familiar intimacy, and Mrs. Greene used to delight to expatiate on the perfect manners and Old World grace of Sir Joshua, and to describe the society she used to meet at his delightful house. From the position of her father she had seen all and known many of the chief celebrities of every kind of the last quarter of the last century. She was, perhaps, the very last survivor of the spectators of that splendid scene in "the great hall of William Rufus," which Macaulay has painted in such gorgeous coloring—the opening of the impeachment of Warren Hastings—where "were collected together grace and female loveliness, wit and learning, the representatives of every science and of every art." Of all that splendid audience, it is not likely that a single one is now alive after the lapse of seventy-eight years. To hear an actual eye-witness bear testimony to the truth of the description, and describe the appearance of Burke and Fox and Sheridan in the forefront of the Commons of England as the managers of the impeachment, almost seemed to bring one into personal relations with the scene and the actors, and to make them present to the mind rather as recollections than imaginary presentments. Two days afterwards she heard the great opening speech of Burke, which has passed into literature as an example of eloquence not excelled in ancient or modern times. Very few persons, if a single one, can be yet living, on whose ears that voice, now silent for all but seventy years, can have ever fallen, and probably not one who heard that crowning triumph of its power. These are things which make one feel that the long past and the present are not separated by sharp divisions, as it is apt to seem to us at a distance, but glide gradually and imperceptibly into one another, kindred drops of one great stream of time.

About the beginning of this century Miss Copley, being then about thirty years of age, married Gardiner Greene, of Boston, a man of large fortune and a gentleman of the old school of finished courtesy and perfect politeness. Here another life of some sixty-five years was past. Her residence for about the half of it was in one of those old pre-Revolutionary houses, built and its accompaniments laid out before land was sold by the square foot. Such were to be found in all our large cities forty years ago, and especially in Boston, before the ruthless hand of improvement had swept them out of its way. The tradition is that it was the quarters for a portion of the time of the siege of Boston, at least, of Earl Percy, and it was certainly occupied by Mrs. Hayley, the sister of John Wilkes, whose lot was cast in some way inexplicable by us upon Boston for a while. It stood on the slope of one of the three hills which gave Boston its second title of Trimountain, and was approached by flights of steps through a spacious "front-yard." The garden behind the house was terraced to the top of the hill, which was crowned by large forest trees—English elms, if we recollect aright. Here it abutted upon other gardens on the other slopes of the hill. It was a unique place, with "no second and no third" like unto it that we know of in any city. It should have been bought by the city and preserved as a pleasure-ground for the people. But aldermen are not aesthetic in their ideas, and the speculators stepped in and it all soon vanished out of sight. They had faith sufficient to remove the fair hill and cause it to be cast into the sea and to conjure up heaps of brick and mortar in its place. We are happy to believe, however, that the speculation was a very bad one. In this charming abode she lived out her second generation of men, with another thirty years to spare before her summons came. What changes had she not seen come over the face of the world since she entered it! The American Revolution, and its daughter, that of France, the whole career of Bonaparte, the entire history of the United States, from the Convention of 1787 to the crushing of the slaveholders' rebellion! Did any ninety-five years ever comprise more eventful and more fruitful history than hers? We think not, and believe that her example well deserves to be added to those we have related as one of the curiosities of longevity.

#### WASTE.

It will not be very strange if our remote posterity have rather a poor opinion of us, their excellent ancestors. They will have learned so much of which we are ignorant that our civilization, admirable as it is, may appear somewhat rude to them. Happy as we are, the time may come when we shall seem to still happier generations to have had but scant experience of the good things of this world. They will hardly look back to our days,

as Dante did to those of his ancestor Cacciaguida, or as we look back to pre-Revolutionary times, as presenting a picture of delightful simplicity of manners and innocence of living. And yet they will not give us credit for having gained much in place of our lost innocence. It would be a little trying, but perhaps it is not impossible that they may even regard us as having hardly got out of the woods of barbarism, and may detect underneath our superficial pretences the old habits of the savage still clinging to us.

We are, indeed, so well off that even this poor opinion need not matter much to us. But we might, if we chose, be a good deal better off. The arrangements for the comfort, quiet, and enjoyment of daily life are, to say the least, not quite so perfect as they might be. M. Blot's excellent lectures on cookery are a rather sharp criticism on our tastes and manners. Will not some other M. Blot come to teach us how to dress well, or how to build and furnish comfortable houses?

Who knows how to be rich in America? Plenty of people know how to get money; but not very many know what best to do with it. To be rich properly is, indeed, a fine art. It requires culture, imagination, and character. A man who should practise this art with success would be one of the greatest benefactors of his time. He might win a pure fame and leave an enduring example. To be rich is to be able to be magnanimous; to conceive and to execute large, splendid, and permanent designs. It is to be at ease and to set others at ease. It is only the rich man who does not know how to be rich that finds it hard to enter into the kingdom of heaven. The man who knows the art passes through even this life, to use one of the fine phrases of Marcus Aurelius, "like one who has entrusted to the gods, with his whole soul, all that he has." Suppose such a rich man to live in our time! "Assuredly," said Solon to Croesus, "he who possesses great store of riches is no nearer happiness than he who has what suffices for his daily needs;" but surely he has some means of happiness which the other does not possess.

One of the signs of the barbaric as distinguished from the civilized temper is the tendency to waste; and the less waste in a community, the higher, other things being equal, is its civilization. Our social organization does not come out well if tried by this test. We Americans are given to wastefulness. It is the reaction from the parsimony and narrow frugalities of the hard early days of the nation, and is one of the consequences of our rapid growth in wealth. New York wastes every day more than would have supplied all its wants fifty years ago; and, what is worse, it wastes the very source of its own prosperity. Dirt is honest and useful matter in the wrong place. To correct this misplacement occupies a great part of the life of every man. The accumulation of dirt on a large scale is productive of innumerable offences and dangers to society. To utilize this accumulation by its proper distribution is one of the chief objects of social organization; to waste it is to destroy one of the chief elements of social prosperity. It has been well said that the value of the dirt of a city in any given time is far greater than that of any single product of industry or any article of commerce. No gold mine is so full of value as the dirt of our streets. It is on the proper distribution and application of this dirt, or its replacement in its right position, that the very life of the city in the long run depends.

England has been lately warned by a high authority of the fatal diminution of her resources and her powers by her rejection and waste of the dirt of her cities. What the city draws to herself from the country and turns to dirt, must be returned to the country if the land is to remain capable of sustaining the continuous drain. Nature takes a slow but sure revenge for the neglect of man. Dirt wasted corrupts the air and the waters, impoverishes the land, breeds pestilence, produces poverty, and increases misery. Dirt utilized makes the land rich, supplies the stores of nature, diminishes poverty, increases happiness, and lengthens life. And yet we waste our dirt and tax ourselves to pay the expense attending the waste of it.

Our habit of wastefulness shows itself in the very construction of our cities. Hardly a house in New York is a hundred years old. The city has been pulled down and rebuilt within the memory of man. It is likely to be pulled down and rebuilt again before the end of the century. This is, no doubt, due in part to the absolute requirements of progress, to the change in habits and in business, and to a natural growth. But, however much of the rebuilding may be assigned to these causes, there is still much that is merely and disastrously wasteful; for the waste of labor, of capital, of design, involved in this constant process of destruction and renewal is beyond computation. Each successive generation has to do over again work that might be done once for all. Work lasts but twenty years which should last for a thousand. The accumulation of capital is impeded, labor is employed unproductively, progress in all cultivation is retarded, and the plainest dictates of economy and good sense are set at naught. New York seems to fulfil the

suggestion of Mr. Hawthorne's cynical humor, that no dwelling should be allowed to serve for more than one generation of men. One of the reasons why we fail to rival the Old World in the possession of the products of civilization, is that we have spent and are spending so much of our time and wealth and energy in doing work over and over again. The palaces of Venice were not more costly than the palaces of the Fifth Avenue. But those of the Fifth Avenue have no tenure of existence. The palaces of Florence are old, but better than new. How shall the arts flourish among us if their best productions are to be more short-lived than the artist?

For the mere material waste implied in this destruction and rebuilding is not all. We fling away the inheritance of memories and associations which dignify and exalt life, which connect it by visible monuments with the past and the future. Both the imagination and the affections suffer where there is nothing venerable for them to cling to, where there is no hope of permanence for their highest achievements. We make our lives barren by this waste.

Fine as our houses look, comfortable as many of them are, they have not grown out of the heart. They miss the essence of home. They are but the lodging places of a family, and next year they will be to let to new inmates. In one of his delightful descriptions of an English place Mr. Hawthorne says:

"All about the house and domain there is a perfection of comfort and domestic taste, an amplitude of convenience, which could have been brought about only by the slow ingenuity and labor of many successive generations, intent upon adding all possible improvement to the home where years gone by and years to come give a sort of permanence to the intangible present. An American is sometimes tempted to fancy that only by this long process can real homes be produced. One man's lifetime is not enough for the accomplishment of such a work of art and nature, almost the greatest merely temporary one that is confided to him; too little, at any rate—yet perhaps too long when he is discouraged by the idea that he must make his house warm and delightful for a miscellaneous race of successors, of whom the one thing certain is that his own grandchildren will not be among them."

This absence of the sense of permanent possession, and hence of interest in the real worth of things, is one main cause of the evil of slight and poor work, which involves not only waste but dishonesty. The dishonesty of poor work may seem of little account to those who are content with makeshifts. But, to look at it from the lowest point of view, bad work costs in the long run far more than good. In many of our trades the thorough workman is rare. Our houses themselves, our furniture, our books, our shoes, too often give the plainest evidence of the prevalence of bad work. It is in the main our own fault, for we are apt to prefer a so-called cheapness to excellence. We have, too, so much work to do that we slight it all. But the careless workman is, according to Proverbs, "brother to him that is a great waste."

Another most prevalent source of waste among us, and another indication of the Oriental barbarism of our tastes, is in our fondness for mere extravagance and display unaccompanied by refinement or comfort. The upholstery of a steamboat saloon or a hotel parlor, the white satin hangings of the silly "bridal apartments," the wearisome excess of delicacies at our public and private entertainments, and the style of much of the dressing of our women, are among the most obvious instances of an extravagance which is purely wasteful, without any compensation of elegance, luxury, or even splendor. We are young and fond of youthful follies, and shall get over them in time, no doubt; but it is a pity that our good sense should be bullied by the vanity of "shoddy" and "petroleum."

The readers of Mr. Marsh's admirable book on "Man and Nature" will not have forgotten how strikingly he exhibits the wasteful manner of our dealing with nature herself, and with what force he sets forth the penalties that follow upon it. The resources of nature are inexhaustible; but man may exhaust the stores which she has provided for his use, and may so deal with her as to prevent her from replenishing them. Already the great continental forests, wantonly desolated, begin to fail in their supply. The destruction of the woods diminishes the stream of the rivers, and the axe in the hands of the wasteful wood-cutter cuts off the waters from our mills and lessens the tonnage in our river ports. We kill the goose who laid daily the golden egg. Like profligates, we waste the inheritance of our children, and hand down to them the ancient estate encumbered with post-obits, the records of our useless squanderings.

## A DESCENT INTO THE DEPTHS.

### SIXTH WARD.

THERE are phases of human degradation, the revelation whereof (as the world is at present organized) can only be justified when there is a possibility of thereby subserving some special good. The simple contemplation of vice or misery may gratify that keen curiosity which is ready to explore every

crypt of our nature, but it had better be omitted unless it excite enquiry into causes, influences, and methods of prevention. *Passive* knowledge of evil is often itself remotely an evil.

I believe, however, that there is a necessity for what some may consider a repulsive acquaintance with the manner of life of those who dwell in the depths of this misgoverned city, burrowing beneath its ostentation, its reckless gaiety, its haste and excitement. Out of these caverns come votes; and from the votes, again—so far as they go—comes the government which increases misery by neglect, and thus increases the vice bred from it. There is as inevitable a connection between filth and vice as between manure and potatoes.

Last Saturday night, at nine o'clock, I found myself, in company with two friends, at the headquarters of the Metropolitan Police, in Mulberry Street. It was raining dismally, and the detective officer whom Mr. Inspector Carpenter had summoned to be our pilot, informed us that we had chosen a most unfavorable time for our proposed inspection of the cellars and barracks of the Sixth and Fourth Wards. The dance-houses are rigidly closed at midnight on Saturday, and we should be disappointed, he said, in our object of seeing the worst people of the city in their worst aspect. We judged, however, that in such a storm we should probably find most of the inmates of the lodging-houses at home, and might learn something of their ordinary habits of life before making acquaintance with their modes of recreation. So, at ten o'clock, we took a Fourth Avenue car for that part of Centre Street nearest to the Five Points.

The rain still poured out of the pitchy sky, and our first plunge into gutter-torrents and pools of liquid mud, guessing at the sidewalks in the dingy gas-light, was a pleasant preparation for the scenes that followed. At the police station we were received by Captain Jordan (whose recent detection of the Concord Bank robbers is only one of his exploits). A keen, intelligent, determined man is he, with a head like General Grant's in its air of mingled boldness and caution, and his forehead none the worse for a scar here and there. In a few words he marked out our course to a policeman familiar with the locality and its inhabitants. The latter lighted a lantern, and, after receiving a parting instruction of "Be sure and take them up Jacob's Ladder," preceded us into the street.

We were already on the borders of the vilely-famous region. The gloom of the night could not conceal the shabby, tumble-down appearance of the houses on either side, nor the long ridges of filth in the streets, the smells of which, constantly beaten down by the rain, we were fortunately spared. Our nostrils would soon have need of all the refreshment they could get. With the exception of three or four dram-shops and corner groceries, the shutters of the houses were closed, few persons were abroad, and the street was silent and deserted. Occasionally a dull murmur of voices came down from somewhere above, or seemed to rise from under the pavement.

The policeman presently mounted an old flight of steps, and we, following, found ourselves in a large bare room, with a bar in one corner and two dirty billiard-tables occupying the centre. Fifteen or twenty boys, between the ages of eight and sixteen, were handling the cues, smoking, swearing, spitting, or indulging in "rummy" conversation. Two loafers hung over the stove, and a negro boy was asleep in a chair. The proprietor—or rather his agent, during his temporary residence on Blackwell's Island—stood at the bar, but kept a watchful eye upon his guests. Our entrance created no surprise nor even curiosity; the boys, young "sneak-thieves," incipient burglars, and garroters, some of them, smoked, and knocked the billiard-balls about, and ventilated their playful epithets, scarcely taking the trouble to look at us. The negro boy, half aroused with difficulty, gave us with shut eyes the information that he was from South Carolina, and his former master's name was Dick Hatch, after which he relapsed into sleep.

Most of the faces, I noticed, had the wide Celtic mouth and stumpy nose. The younger boys, for all their aping of the manners of the older, retained a certain frankness and openness of expression; but the others were already stamped with low cunning, alert and wary as those of full-grown thieves. For these there is no reclamation. I wasted no pity upon them, for they would have hooted at the very idea.

Our next visit was subterranean. The wet, rotten steps descended almost perpendicularly against a door of planks, barred on the inside, but swiftly opened at our policeman's summons. I inhaled a last mouthful of fresh air, and plunged into a dim, dank, pestilential atmosphere. The walls were of bare stone, trickling with moisture; the floor boarded, indeed, but so covered with dirt as to be rather that than wood, and there was neither window, flue, nor hole of any kind to admit the air. Most of the space was taken up with berths of rough plank, built up in double tiers; the beds in them were either bundles of black rags or layers of foul straw. This was a lodging-house, made to contain twelve or more persons in a space fifteen feet

square. The price of a bed is ten cents, and the rent paid by the lady-proprietress of the den ten dollars a month!

A few paces off there was another still worse, a part of the front cellar having been taken for the storage of lager-beer, so that the "lodging" was ten feet from light and air. We had barely room to stand between the bunks and the trickling wall. Ragged articles of clothing hung from strings along the beams, and I was obliged to stoop to avoid shuddering contact with them. In the reeking, sodden beds lay several married (?) couples who had already retired, while the other lodgers sat upon the floor around a kerosene lamp, which seemed to burn under difficulties. One of these persons, a woman with a baby and bruised eyes, informed us that she was "bespoke" to the man sitting beside her. Thereupon the two laid their cheeks lovingly together, and said they were going to be true to each other. We were not much moved by this exhibition of affection; for both were tolerably drunk.

The landlord, an old Irishman, seemed to take a curious pride in showing us the vileness of his den—how damp the walls were, how dirty the floor, how impossible for fresh air to enter. Rent, ten dollars a month—that of a comfortable two-story house in Philadelphia. When I mentioned this to him, he said: "Ay, I know it—or in Albany or Massachusetts, either." As we turned to leave, he added, whimpering, "You won't do anything to my injury, will you?" This, the policeman explained, was a gentle hint for a contribution.

The next place appeared, at first sight, to be slightly better, inasmuch as there was a penny-grocery in front and two rooms in the rear, each of the latter containing two double beds instead of the usual bunks. But here, also, there was neither light nor air, and the smell was hardly to be endured. In one bed lay two children, in another two men, chance lodgers. The whole cellar occupied a space of ten by twenty feet. Lodgings, ten cents; rent, sixteen dollars a month.

These places were types of six or eight others which we visited, all in the Five Points. Everywhere the same crowd of unwaashed humanity, the same rags and filth, the same stifling, stagnant atmosphere. The men were either abject, besotted, and reckless creatures, or criminals of a low and cowardly order; the women, with one exception, coarse, hard-featured, and having, for the most part (as the Scotchman in "Alton Locke" says), "their mouths full of vitriol and beastly words." That exception was a young Irishwoman, whose husband is lying in one of the hospitals with a broken arm. She had a pleasant, pretty face, and kept herself as decent as the miserable circumstances of her life would allow.

There was, also, a little back from the street, an old, rickety frame house, where the appearances slightly improved. We waded through a pool of mud and water to the door, and inspected the two dwellings (about ten by fifteen feet each) on the ground floor. In one there was a quantity of shabby furniture; the walls were covered with cheap pictures, and the inmates had evidently made some effort to conceal the repulsiveness of their poverty. But the two stalls in the rear were simply air-tight boxes, so small that the sleepers would have been rapidly suffocated had the doors been closed. The other lodging was even worse. There was neither floor nor bed in the sleeping-stalls; only a thin litter of straw covered the damp earth. In one stall lay a child, so curled and twisted among the rags that only a tuft of soft golden hair was visible; in the other two young fellows of twenty slept huddled close against each other for warmth.

It was a great relief when the officer conducted us to a billiard-saloon frequented by the Italians of the region. Here we found order and comparative decency. The polite, graceful manners of the men implied a certain amount of self-respect, the utter absence of which had painfully impressed us in the lodging-houses. Certainly no races are so lacking in natural courtesy as the Anglo-Saxon and the Celt. The proprietor of the room, a lively little man from Forlì, in the Romagna, answered my questions with a light, cheerful dignity, and begged me to take a glass of wine with him. The officer, also, gave testimony to the superiority of the poor Italians over the other classes. With proper treatment, he said, they were very obedient and orderly, and gave the police little trouble.

A large lodging-house, fitted up from cellar to garret with narrow bunks, and patronized mostly by Germans, was closed. A little examination, however, showed that one of the cellar-doors was open. On descending the steps I plunged ankle-deep into water, and was then ushered into a narrow, dark hole, where there was barely room to pass between the bunks and the bare wall. Half a dozen persons, all Germans, were sleeping in an atmosphere which can neither be imagined nor described. The officer aroused a woman, who told me, in a broad Bavarian dialect, that she was a house-cleaner, and that her husband, snoring beside her in the cramped berth

made a living by mending harness. Why they lodged in such a place she would not explain.

Close at hand was Cow Bay, and here the officer announced that he was going to take us up Jacob's Ladder. Somehow or other, through the rain and darkness and deepening mud, we reached the foot of a broken, rotting, outside staircase leading to the second story of a miserable building. I will not describe one by one the horrors it contained. One room—and I think we visited eight in all—was a repetition of the other. Worn, broken floors, cracked walls, patched and broken windows (where there were any), and roofs and ceilings through which the rain leaked in streams, were the features of the dwelling. There was more diversity among its inmates. In one room we found an old man in bed, his head cut and swollen to double its size by the erysipelas which supervened, with his wife tending him; in another an old negro, in a singular garment of rags—at least three hundred pieces in his trowsers. He informed us, with a grin, that his rent was always paid in advance—three dollars a month—and every pitcher, pail, or dish he owned catching its separate stream of rain.

Two of the rooms were warmed by open iron kettles of coal, collected from ash-barrels during the day, and the gas was so dense that we could scarcely breathe. In one there was no window, only a square hole closed by a sliding shutter. Here, in a space six feet by twelve, lived a negro pair, paying three dollars a month. In another room, without fire or furniture—a cold, bare, filthy closet under the roof—a woman lay upon the floor. She turned over, looked at us, her face flushed with liquor, answered a few questions, and then sank back with a desperate, dreadful groan, as we turned to leave.

With qualms at the stomach and bitter saliva in the mouth, we crept down this hideous Jacob's Ladder and returned to the mud and rain with a luxury of relief. The first question that came to our lips was: "Who owns these places?" But here it was not so easy to obtain information. It appears that the most of them are leased to parties who sub-let in their turn, so that the money drawn from filth and vice and pestilence undergoes two or three purifications before it is paid for boxes at the opera or cushioned pews in up-town churches.

Yet there had been, so, the officer said, even a lower deep than that into which we had descended. The establishment of the missions, to the beneficent operations of which he accorded full credit, the widening of Worth Street, and, lastly, the admirable system of police inspection organized by Captain Jordan, have brought some elements of order into this seething chaos. We were struck with the universal respect paid to the officer, and the obedience, for the most part cheerful and willing, which followed his orders. He knew the people by name, had a kind word for all, and was evidently looked up to by them as a protector. When the doors were locked, we frequently heard the words within, in answer to his voice: "Open, it's Frank!" and one woman, sitting alone in a dark, horrid den, paused in the midst of indescribable talk to say: "I'll never forget *you*, Frank; you once 't got my shawl back for me!"

One little thing touched me in this dismal round. Wherever there was the least attempt at ornament—sometimes even in the poorest rooms—there was the portrait of Abraham Lincoln. A cheap, colored lithograph; a wood-cut from an old newspaper pasted on the wall; a large, rude head from a placard; or, in the dram-shops, an engraving draped in black, with Tom Sayers on one side and John Morrissey on the other—in whatever form, the sad eyes of the martyred President looked down upon the degraded inmates, with malice towards none, with charity for all.

Yet, hence came no vote for Abraham Lincoln; but there came, in July, 1863, the vilest of Horatio Seymour's "friends." Curiously enough, in this home of denunciation of "the nigger" we found blacks and whites living harmoniously together—in one instance, one black man and three Irish girls occupying the same room!

The dram-shops and groceries were well lighted and orderly. In each there were a dozen or more pickpockets, "sneak-thieves," and prostitutes, some of whom, having no lodgings, had laid themselves to sleep on the sawdusted floor. One of the girls said to the officer, "Frank, when are you going to get me out of this?" It was difficult to decide whether she was really sick of that wretched life, or merely wished to excite our sympathy. I moved towards her, intending to ask some questions, but was met on the way by a villainous looking fellow, who, after a sharp, quick glance, stretched out his hand. "I've seen you in Sing Sing, have n't I?" he asked in a low voice. I was so astounded at being taken for a "pal," that the man drew back his hand. "How long were you there?" I asked. He hung down his head, muttered "three years," and walked out.

The condition of the streets was horrible. In some places the layers of filth appeared to be nearly two feet thick, and the ooze from it were car-

ried by the rain into inhabited cellars. The wonder is, not that such places breed pestilence, but that pestilence is not a permanent condition. We saw a number of sick persons, all afflicted with "rheumatism," which was frequently, no doubt, a euphemism for something else. Human life must require much less oxygen than the physiologists suppose, or many of these dens would lose their tenants in a single night.

Another wonder is, not that the people are vicious and degraded, but that, living in such a condition, they are not utterly brutalized. I suppose there is no possible reform for the most of them, for with self-respect goes the last thread by which they might be pulled out of the mire. But the question has other aspects, which the city ought seriously to consider. The law which removes a soap-boiling establishment out of the reach of sensitive nostrils permits disease to be engendered in damp, airless cellars, crammed to suffocation with human beings. The police has established order, so far as order is possible: the streets are quiet and secure; but in all other respects there is criminal recklessness. Why should not the owners of these dens be forced to have them, at least, cleaned, whitewashed, and ventilated? Why, indeed, should not the names of the owners be ascertained and published? As for the accumulated filth in the streets, so long as New York pays nearly twice as much to be the dirtiest city in the world as Paris, with 1,700,000 inhabitants, to be the cleanest, it is useless to hope for any improvement.

The intelligent officer who accompanied us from headquarters gave me much interesting information in regard to these and other questions. But it is not my intention to discuss them. It is enough, for the present, to attempt a plain picture of such misery and degradation as I have never found in any part of the world. One of my companions declared that in all his experience of life in Esquimaux huts, during the Arctic winter, he had never seen anything so repulsive.

We visited some establishments of a different class, where the comparative cleanliness and order produced, by contrast, almost the effect of a better moral atmosphere. These, also, are under careful supervision, though necessarily imperfect, since government ignores, and public opinion decries, any attempt to deal with an important social fact.

At two o'clock in the morning we had finished our inspection in the Sixth Ward, and it was then too late, and we were too fatigued with sadening and sickening spectacles, to undertake more.

B. T.

NEW YORK, Feb. 28, 1866.

## THE SOUTH AS IT IS.

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

XXXI.

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 20.

ONE day this week I made a visit to the house once owned by Mr. Pierre Soulé, and now in the hands of the Government. For nearly a year it has been used as an asylum for colored orphans. A young lady from Boston, Mrs. De Mortié, has been its manager from the time when it was founded, and, indeed, may be regarded as its founder and preserver, having successfully overcome the many obstacles which stood in its way at the beginning, and the perils which have threatened its existence since. It was only after wearisome delays that the Federal officers quartered in the house could be got out of it in order to make room for negro children. The citizens resident in that quarter were, of course, violently opposed to the establishment of a negro school and house of refuge in their neighborhood; and others, not aggrieved by its vicinity to their residences, were very angry at seeing so elegant a mansion given up to such uses. A guard had to be stationed round the building to protect it from destruction and its occupants from insult. This was furnished by General Banks, who warmly befriended the enterprise from the outset. On the part of some people who had been expected to render aid there was a good deal of backwardness at the first, and it is only recently that a society, called the Louisiana Association, and made up for the most part of wealthy people of color in New Orleans, has been formed, and has pledged itself to give the institution pecuniary assistance. At one time it was in great danger from an order issued by the Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau, which seemed to contemplate the apprenticing of all the inmates of the asylum. There were at once a great many visits from Southern men demanding apprentices in the most confident manner, one even threatening the matron that she would do well to be careful of her language or she might find herself apprenticed. Prompt recourse to General Canby averted that danger. Courage and patience constantly exerted have kept the asylum in existence and successful till the present time. And now a French gentleman, who has recently visited this country, and while here gave a careful examination to the institution, offers

to bestow upon it \$10,000, on condition that \$20,000 additional is raised, and Mrs. De Mortié entertains the confident hope of soon seeing her enterprise carried to a prosperous conclusion.

That there is need of such an asylum is evident from the fact that it is now giving support and an education to fifty-six children. The number of inmates was at one time as high as one hundred, but that was while many of the negroes of this city and the neighboring country were yet in the Federal army and the Confederate camps. In many of these cases the mother died during the father's absence, and the child found refuge in the asylum. Then upon his return it was removed and cared for by him.

I found children of all ages, from those of four months old up to fourteen and fifteen years, and some whom I did not see, and who are more than fifteen years old, were away at work, and are only to be found in the asylum at night. The school is held in what was once, the dining-room, and contains about fifty pupils, two of them being day-scholars, who pay for their tuition. An increase in the numbers of this latter class may be expected, I was told, and their tuition fees will be applied to the expenses of the establishment. The list of studies embraces the common branches of an English education, history and physiology among the rest, and there is a class of ten who study French. Plain needlework is also taught. One of the teachers is paid by the National Freedmen's Relief Association, and the others by the Freedmen's Bureau. One of them informed me that her scholars behaved very well in school and gave her no trouble, so far as discipline was concerned, but she thought them indolent and averse to study. I only heard them singing, an exercise which they performed with a great deal of spirit. The dormitories, dining-rooms, play-rooms, and the grounds were all very neatly kept, and evidently pains had been taken to preserve the house from injury.

The general work of educating the freedmen of the State seems to be carried on with considerable vigor and probably with more success than in any of the other Southern States. I learn that on the 1st of February, 1866, the whole number of schools for freedmen was 140, with 267 teachers and 14,500 scholars. These schools are nearly all in the eastern part of the State, near the Mississippi River, although efforts are now being made to extend them over the other parishes. The cost of supporting the 140 schools now in operation is not far from \$20,000 per month. It is defrayed by the United States Government, but the Bureau is charged with the expenses, and they in turn charge them to the State of Louisiana, which, it is probable, will eventually be compelled to pay them; for in 1864 a tax was imposed on the real estate in Louisiana by General Banks, who intended thus to support the schools which he had been mainly instrumental in establishing. For some reason this tax was not collected in 1864, and it was not until 1865 that a small portion of it, about \$40,000, was paid into the treasury. Just then, if my information is correct, General Fullerton, the successor of Mr. Conway in the office of Assistant Commissioner, ordered that the collection should cease. Meantime the Bureau had been allowed to borrow from the Quartermaster's Department about \$300,000. General Canby has recently declared that the tax was imposed by proper authority and must be paid, so that it seems likely that the instruction hitherto given to the colored people of Louisiana will be paid for by the State. For their future instruction General Baird, the present Assistant Commissioner, adopts a new plan. To the people in each district he gives their choice whether or not they will have a school. If they decide to have one they are obliged to pay its expenses. The agent of the Bureau is instructed in the case of such negroes to direct the employer to withhold from them and pay over to him five per cent. of the laborer's wages. This cannot be done where negroes enter into contracts that are not submitted to the Bureau for approval, and it cannot well be done in the cities, where few laborers work under a written contract. In the cities, therefore, each child is expected to pay a tuition fee of \$1.50 per month. The Superintendent of Education is now sending his agents into all parts of the State to urge upon the negroes the importance of supporting schools, and hopes for good results from the new policy, which, except as to its principles, it is of course too early yet to judge. The hostility of the white people to the Bureau, so far as his official information enables him to reach a conclusion, is decreasing, the good influence being exerted by the best class of planters. But there is still much of it in existence, and it is only this week that one of his subordinates comes to him severely beaten, with the complaint that he has just been driven out of the parish of Point Coupee.

In the plantation department of the Bureau I was told that there are not laborers enough to supply the demand of the planters, and that in consequence some of the contracts made very recently give the negroes \$18 a month. But the greater number of contracts filed in the office set forth \$10 and \$12 a month as the rate of wages; and I am told that not only shelter,

food, fuel, and medical attendance are given by the employers, but clothing also. Five-sixths of all the contracts made agree that the laborer shall be paid in money; the rest give him a share of the crop.

Outrages upon negroes are said to be of infrequent occurrence, for very few complaints reach the Bureau; and cases of fraud, though by no means so rare, are not remarkably numerous. The gentleman at the head of this department of the Bureau is often in receipt of letters from Northern men who are cultivating cotton here. He believes that the danger of injury and insult to Northerners from their neighbors is very much less than it was a few months ago. He mentioned as one instance—and was able, he said, to give many—the case of a Mr. R—, a Massachusetts man, who, three months ago, found his neighbors so hostile that few of them would speak to him, and he had even received threatening letters. Now, he reports, there is very little trouble of that kind. Some of them come to him for advice as to the proper management of free labor, for he is a more successful planter than they. That circumstance, by the way, was an illustration, he thought, of the great difficulty which every officer of the Bureau found constantly coming up in his own experience. The planters as a class required more teaching, before they could adapt themselves to the new system, than even the negroes. At any rate, they required as much teaching, and they were less willing to be taught.

On this same question of Southern hostility to the North and the Government I talked not long since with a staff officer, who gave me as an example of it this account of an affair in which he had borne a part: He happened to go with some friends not very long ago into a hotel that has recently been opened here, and in the office he saw hanging up a printed announcement that on such an evening a concert or lecture, or some entertainment or other, would be given, and then came the big letters, "for the benefit of the Hon. Jefferson Davis and family." A portrait of Davis was fastened to the lower corner. The sight of the thing stuck up there made him angry, and he at once jumped up and snatched down handbill and picture. Going then to the clerk he demanded his reason for insulting a part of the guests of the house. The clerk said "no offence was intended, they had to please everybody," and made other lame excuses, and referred him to the proprietor. The proprietor was away at the time and could not be found. Well, on the next night there was quite a company of Southerners assembled in the hotel office, and the handbill and Jeff's picture were hung up again. Of course he did right in pulling it down the first time, but what should he do the second time? Consulting with his friends he decided that he would not be justified in going there without business of any kind just to make a quarrel, kill somebody, or get killed. He could not go there and let it hang; so he decided to stay away altogether. But he believed that was the way they all hated the Union.

## TROUBLES OF FRENCH PUBLISHERS.

PARIS, Feb. 20, 1866.

A FEW years ago, a young Belgian publisher, Lacroix by name, came to Paris and opened a new establishment on the Boulevard Montmartre, at the corner of the Rue Vivienne. M. Lacroix had already made a large fortune in Brussels; but he was ambitious—he wished to become in Paris a sort of Murray, or Longman, or Fields, a friend and almost a patron of the *littérateurs*. His great fortune allowed him to offer to them more liberal terms than those which were usually given by the old Parisian publishing houses. His first recruit was no other than Victor Hugo. Lacroix became the happy publisher of the "Misérables," a work which has gone through any number of editions and has found its way into every house into France and into many foreign countries. I think I am not mistaken if I state that Lacroix paid Victor Hugo the sum of 400,000 francs (80,000 dollars) for the "Misérables." The great success of this popular novel induced him to offer to Victor Hugo still more liberal terms for all his forthcoming works. The great poet receives now from him 10,000 dollars for every volume he writes. Such was the price paid lately for the two volumes of the "Chansons des Rues et des Bois."

The magnificent *magasin* of M. Lacroix was fast becoming the most attractive on the Boulevards, and his affairs were most prosperous. He published the magnificent work of Quinet on the French Revolution, the "Lettres sur l'Angleterre" of Louis Blanc. Unfortunately, M. Lacroix confined himself to publishing serious works, written by French liberals. A liberal himself, he did not well conceal his political opinions. He had been once a member of the municipal council in Brussels, and he preserved in Paris the imprudent habits of free thought and free speech. Every day, towards one o'clock, M. Lacroix could be seen after his breakfast in the Café de Madrid, which faced his *magasin* on the other side of the boulevard, taking his coffee and smoking his cigar among the members of the literary

Pleiade, which has made the name of the place famous in the *grande et petite Bohème des lettres*. I do not wonder myself if Lacroix sought for a moment's relaxation from the cares of business among the wits and *beaux esprits* of this literary and artistic club; in no place I know of is so much *esprit* spent with so much gaiety, so much humor, with so much prodigality. But, alas for Lacroix! French *esprit* and the Second Empire are not on the best of terms. He was to pay dearly for his intimacy with *la jeune France*, and with old enemies of the government, such as Hugo, Louis Blanc, and Quinet. A pretext was looked for and soon found. After the death of Proudhon, the well-known socialist, many unpublished manuscripts were found among his papers. Lacroix undertook to publish them for the benefit of his wife and children, who were left almost destitute. A committee of young writers, who had been the personal friends of Proudhon, were to be the supervisors of the publication. The manuscripts were chiefly unfinished, and were notes rather than complete works. But some importance was attached even to the notes of Proudhon. The great critic, Ste. Beuve, lately made a senator by Napoleon III., had just begun a series of articles on Proudhon, in a Government review called the "*Revue Contemporaine*." These articles were an apotheosis, or rather a rehabilitation of the socialist writer and agitator. With the artistic indifference of a critic, Ste. Beuve judged the monstrous doctrines of Proudhon as he would have done the doctrines of a Hindoo or a Chinese reformer; he only admired the terseness of his style, the energy of his invective, the fertility of his sophistry; he placed him on a level with the greatest men of our age, and paid even a high tribute to his merit as a man and as a moralist. With the versatility of his nature, the academician, the senator, the supporter of despotism, identified himself for a moment with a man who despised all the political, religious, and social institutions of his time. Might not Lacroix think himself allowed to publish Proudhon's posthumous works when Ste. Beuve was extolling him in a ministerial review? He thought so, and first published notes which Proudhon had written on the New Testament; short, often unfinished, sentences placed next to almost all the verses and chapters. This embryotic exegesis, in its present form, will hardly be read by any but the systematic admirers of Proudhon; his "*Evangelies Annotés*" will never become popular like the "*Vie de Jésus*" of Renan. But the publication was used as a pretext for prosecuting Lacroix; he was accused of having edited and sold a work where the Catholic religion and all the other Christian doctrines recognized in France were attacked and ridiculed. Lacroix appeared himself in court and spoke in person, instead of employing a lawyer.

His speech was forcible and eloquent. Vainly did he repudiate all responsibility for Proudhon's doctrines, and urge that a publisher is not an author; that he, a man of business, could not seriously be accused of sharing the views of the writer who once said, "*La propriété c'est le vol*;" that, himself a father of a family, he had no desire to destroy the institution of the family, which Proudhon had been accused of desiring; that he had not wished to offend anybody's religious feelings in publishing Proudhon's ideas on the New Testament; that he did not force his book on the public; and so on. The court condemned him to one year's imprisonment and to a heavy fine, in virtue of an article of a law of 1822. The real crime of Lacroix was his political independence and the support he offered and promised to all the writers of the liberal school. His condemnation has increased the feeling of terror which has been for a long time common to all our publishers. The patent of a publishing house is a privilege which represents a large capital; it is in the power of the Government to take back his patent from any publisher. It happened in the case of the publication of the "*Lettre sur l'Histoire de France*," by the Duke d'Aumale. The prince had to indemnify his editor for the loss of his patent. Under such legislation, you may imagine that truth can no more easily find its way into books than into newspapers. Lacroix was getting too troublesome; his career, till now triumphant, was suddenly stopped. A year's imprisonment is almost ruin to a man of business. Lacroix announces that he will transfer his house again to Brussels, and shake the dust of Imperial France from his feet; and I cannot much wonder at his anger.

If I have entered into so many details about the recent condemnation of M. Lacroix, it is because such an incident will throw more light to the eyes of distant witnesses than general denunciations of Imperial tyranny. Since I wrote last the Mexican question has not lost any of its importance; it ranks foremost among all the questions which occupy the public mind. The French Senate, in its answer to the Imperial speech, has a paragraph on this question which, it is said, was inspired or revised, at least, at the Tuilleries:

"As for the United States," says the Senate, "if, in consequence of a misunderstanding, the presence of the French flag on the American continent

seems to them less opportune than at another and famous period of their history, the firm despatches of your Government have shown that our return will not be determined by proud and threatening words. France is accustomed to choose her own hour for action. She likes, however, to remember her old friendship for the United States. All you ask from them, sire, is neutrality and obedience to the law of nations. They must see that a war undertaken for the protection of French citizens against a disloyal government is not converted, merely because it is a successful war, into a war of conquest, of domination, or of propagandism."

I leave to you to pass judgment upon the eloquence, the good taste, and the political wisdom of the French Senate. The Mexican question will only be seriously discussed in the Lower House. It was said some time ago that M. Thiers intended to attack the policy of the Government in the Mexican question, but his ardor is cooling since the Emperor has promised to withdraw his troops. The publication of the diplomatic correspondence between the Government of France and the Cabinet of Washington has also caused some uneasiness to those who intended to treat the Mexican question in the Lower House. It is not without some astonishment that they have learned that M. Drouyn de Lhuys has been once *informally* asked whether the recognition of Maximilian by the Cabinet of Washington would be followed by the withdrawal of the French troops. To be sure Mr. Seward has since *formally* refused to bind together the two questions, and has clearly denied the recognition of Maximilian. For the present, the French Government seems willing to be contented with the neutrality of the United States: if you promise to behave yourselves, and not to trouble Maximilian's peace of mind, then we shall leave him alone and withdraw our regiments. Of course, if the Austro-Belgio-French guard which he must keep is sufficient to protect him against the Mexican rebels, if he can remain in Mexico without our Zouaves, you will have to recognize him sooner or later. M. Drouyn de Lhuys reminds you that you always recognize *de facto* governments; besides, in your own diplomatic correspondence you confess that the republican government in Mexico has been a failure; why should you not allow a fair trial to the monarchical system? Thus reason all those who have taken the pains of reading your documents and our "*Yellow-Book*." So everything is comfortable, and this crumpled rose-leaf in our Imperial Sybarite's bed has been again neatly spread out by the skilful hands of diplomacy.

A. L.

## Correspondence.

### RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE FOR STATE CONVENTIONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

I was much interested in your remarks on the *right of suffrage for State conventions*, in your paper of February 22. I must also acknowledge to have been somewhat startled by the view you have presented, though I know that doctrine very similar has long been maintained, how consistently I will not enquire, by many of those calling themselves *par excellence* the Democrats. I have not been able to look at the history of State conventions in other States to see how far it may support your view. I have only examined a little into that of conventions in this State. The convention which established the first constitution of the State, April 20, 1777, was elected on the recommendation of the Congress of the colony, May 31, 1776, prompted by a previous recommendation of the Continental Congress. The resolution of the Provincial Congress recommended "to the electors in the several counties in this colony, by election in the manner and form prescribed for the present Congress," to authorize their deputies to consider the propriety of forming a new government, "and if the majority of the counties, by their deputies," should be in favor of it, then to institute such government, etc. The elections were to be determined by the county committees. The Congress also "earnestly recommended to the committees, freeholders, and other electors in the different counties diligently to carry the same into execution." Here was a period confessedly revolutionary. But the electors were those who had elected the Provincial Congress, and they were, I believe, those who had had the right of voting for the Colonial Assembly. Your view is certainly confirmed by the action of the legislature, March 13, 1821, when, in declaring who should be electors of delegates to the convention, they adopted a different standard from that in the existing constitution determining electors for members of assembly and for senators. The very calling of the convention might be termed a revolutionary act, for there was no provision in the constitution then in force authorizing the legislature to do this, and, of course, none authorizing them to determine the electors to the convention. But if the legislature had more power in the

premises than any collection of private persons, they must have derived it from the former electors.

The constitution of 1821 prescribed one qualification for electors of "all officers elective by the people." The extension of the qualification to what is known as "universal suffrage," in 1836, was by a constitutional amendment in the manner prescribed by the constitution itself, being adopted by a majority vote of the electors, after having been proposed by a majority vote of one and approved by a two-third vote of the succeeding legislature. There was in this constitution no provision for calling a convention of the people. Yet an act recommending a convention of the people of this State was passed by the legislature May 13, 1845, providing for submitting the question of calling a convention to the electors at the next State election, and for an election of delegates, if the majority should be for a convention, and providing that all persons entitled to vote for members of assembly shall be entitled to vote for delegates. This was recognizing the standard of electorship by the existing constitution. But the call of the convention by the legislature was itself an unauthorized assumption of power.

The constitution of 1846 prescribes the qualifications of voters for all officers elective by the people, and also that "at the general election to be held in the year 1866 and in each twentieth year thereafter, and also at such time as the legislature may by law provide, the question, 'Shall there be a convention to revise the constitution and amend the same?' shall be decided by the electors qualified to vote for members of the legislature, and in case a majority of the electors so qualified voting at such election shall decide in favor of a convention for such purpose, the legislature at its next session shall provide by law for the election of delegates to such convention."

Now, from your article I should understand that, if this year the vote is in favor of a convention, the next legislature, "in providing by law for the election of delegates to such convention," may determine the electors by some other rule than that in the present constitution, determining who shall vote for officers of the State government. For instance, they may allow any man of color to vote for delegates, without regard to property qualification (we will say nothing now about the women). Indeed, I must suppose that you would say that the legislature cannot refuse to do this, and that if any persons of color are not permitted to vote for want of property qualification, they will be therein deprived of a right. In other words, that they are constituent members of that *people of the State* by whom a new constitution may be framed.

I think your proposition, "Whenever heretofore a State convention has been called, it has been by a special statute, prescribing the qualifications of electors for that occasion only, and expiring with that occasion," will not be accepted by lawyers. You say truly, "The theory of government upon which all the States have acted since 1776 is, that no constitution, charter, or law can fetter the right of the people of each State by the action of a convention to frame that fundamental law anew from time to time at their discretion." But the question is, Who are this *people*? Your article hardly explains, though it implies that this consists or may consist of other individuals than those recognized as electors by the former constitution. The act of this State, March 13, 1821, and the adoption of the constitution under had a revolutionary character. The identity of the political people of the State changed in that occurrence.

But this I think was an exceptional event in the history of the State. The present constitution seems to me to affirm the principle that the people of the State are found in the former electors. If the legislature should make a special determination of electors for delegates to the next convention that may be voted for under the constitution, it is probable that the constitution next adopted would provide that electors for delegates to future conventions should be only such as were electors by that constitution. But if your theory is correct, even this would not settle it, because, as you say, no constitution can fetter the *people*. I think the people of a State are, in the political sense, those who under the existing state of things hold the elective franchise. Of course I admit that a revolutionary assumption of power may take place by a different set of persons in number greater, or, it may be, less, than the previous electors. But there is no rule about revolutions.

How far the convention, supposing it formed by delegates properly elected, may proceed in determining the new constitution, is an entirely different question, which I think you have mixed up with the other. Whether the convention has authority to establish the constitution, as you say it has, or has only power to propose one to the electors who chose the delegates, is a question of fundamental law, but not determinable by any principle—only by customary law, and hardly by that. It has been different, I think, in different States. The question is as to the intention of the political people of the State, either that their delegates shall give them a constitution or offer one for their adoption. In neither case is there any revolution. It seems a

contradiction in terms to say that the highest power in the State is engaged in a revolutionary act—a normal revolution. What is that? It may well be that the existing constitutions of Alabama and other Southern States provide that the convention shall determine the constitution without again referring to a popular vote. The action of the recent Maryland convention, in referring the adoption of the proposed constitution to electors discriminated by a rule different from that determining the electors who sent the delegates, was anomalous. They submitted the constitution to a people made by the convention which offered the constitution! You might well say, Why did they not at once declare the constitution?

The fact remains that a written constitution cannot be the ultimate constitution. It must rest on some external authority; and where this authority is—that is, the unwritten or, as Dr. Brownson calls it, "the providential constitution"—is a mere question of fact.

The Dorr controversy, in 1842, is generally understood to prove precisely the contrary of the doctrine which you claim to be supported by it. The cases of Territories have no application here, because in such case the political people of the new State comes into being or attains self-recognition when recognized by Congress as the people of one of the United States. Your doctrine is an illustration of what Dr. Brownson calls *humanitarian democracy*; mine rather of what he calls *territorial democracy*. And, by the way, I think that in your recent review of his "American Republic" you misunderstood his use of the term, and represented him as meaning a landed-proprietor democracy.

Yours respectfully,

J. C. H.

#### MORE ABOUT THE WEST POINT ACADEMY, ITS ABUSES AND DEFECTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

From the facts adduced in the former letter under this head, it is noticeable that the tendency of legislation for this institution has been to stamp upon it a reformatory and pauper character, by keeping the standard of acquirement for admission to it below the average of common schools throughout the country, on the plea that it should be open to rich and poor alike; and by taking off all checks upon the abuse of patronage, by allowing youths to be sent back and retained in the school after their incompetency for the military service had been passed upon by a board especially called upon to do so by law. Now, that neither of these features would meet the favor of the American people, were they squarely brought to their attention, there can be no question. That they are desirous of keeping up this school on the most liberal footing has been fully demonstrated, in the teeth of all the opposition that has been made to it in so many quarters. That, in doing this, their object is one of public utility, and not one in the interests of either individuals or classes, it would be an insult to their common sense to doubt. And yet their representatives in Congress, whilst professing to recognize this state of public opinion, have virtually ignored it by their official acts; and, in hundreds of cases, by their interference as individuals. If the national military school is not all that it might become, the responsibility lies with Congress, and with Congress alone.

Turning now from outside influences as they may affect this institution, let us examine some of the defects alleged against it as growing out of its internal government; and for this purpose take up those counts which are so well and strongly put in the article in THE NATION of Dec. 28, 1866, headed "West Point Military Academy." The first point which attracts attention in this article is the following statement, which can only be accepted *cum grano salis*. It reads as follows: "It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the effect of West Point training upon the management of our military affairs; or whether the exclusive spirit nurtured by it, which has practically turned the army into a close corporation, has been productive of more good than evil. Its influence controls all the higher appointments in the service." With a people so jealous as we are of everything that seems exclusive, West Point has been brought into disrepute more by assertions of this kind than perhaps by anything else. Now let us examine how far this is true.

In the former letter on this subject the various methods for officering an army were sketched out, and the objections to each, fairly it is thought, were stated. All of these methods have been resorted to in our army, as its official registers will show, and the officers from each placed upon an equal footing for promotion and service. What the "exclusive spirit," as here used, is intended to convey is best known to the writer of that article. If it means that men specially trained for a profession, and having entered upon its duties, think they know more about them than one who takes upon him its exercise without any such preparation, and that men so trained have more

confidence in those who have been trained like themselves than in untried men without any training, this certainly is as true of West Point as it is of every other profession and trade. Why, consult the records of the army. Whom do our generals appointed from civil life select for the working men of their staffs? Why, with but very few exceptions, and those usually persons who, through their prejudices or from other causes, have committed themselves against West Point, they take West Point graduates whenever they can get them, and on the same grounds that men select their agents in all affairs of life. This is the sum and substance of the matter. If you desire to eradicate this spirit you must first destroy all *esprit de corps* in all walks of life.

Now, as to the other count, that "its influence controls all the higher appointments in the service," write *events for influence* and we shall be nearer the mark. That the graduates of West Point should, as intelligent and educated men, exercise some influence in the country, it would be little to their credit as a class to deny. It is but the natural result of their education. But how does the record stand upon this subject? Although some of the graduates of West Point had served in the war of 1812, and were still in the service in 1860, having in the meantime rendered distinguished services to the country, there was *not one* of their number who had been made a general officer up to that time except Joseph E. Johnston, who, upon the death of General Jessup, the quartermaster-general, was placed in that position by the influence of his connection, John B. Floyd. All the general officers, the quartermaster-general, and the commissary-general, were not graduates. When the rebellion broke out, three major-generals were at first appointed, John C. Fremont, Geo. B. McClellan, and H. W. Halleck. None of these men were at that time in service. Fremont was appointed through party influence; McClellan through the political influence of Ohio; and Halleck through the recommendation of General Scott, who knew him to be a man of talent, a military student, and of high standing as a lawyer in California. Neither Grant nor Sherman was in service when the rebellion broke out. They were comparatively unknown men. Both were borne into high command by political influence. Burnside and Hooker were also out of service at the same period, and both were pushed forward by the same influence. This statement is not made in disparagement to the real merits of these men, but to show how little West Point influence had to do with their rise to high office. It was charged at the time, and still is believed by many, that Fremont was sacrificed to West Point jealousy. In what way? Neither Mr. Lincoln, with something of that prejudice against West Point which is more or less prevalent in the West; nor Mr. Cameron, then Secretary of War; nor Mr. Stanton, had any particular bias towards West Point. Why should they have sacrificed Mr. Fremont to this influence against a very large fraction of the Republican party, who had made Mr. Fremont their leader? When we see McClellan, Burnside, Hooker, and other West Point graduates set aside, and Halleck loaded with abuse and odium, where was this influence? The fact is, that to bear the title of a West Point graduate was one of disqualification in the minds of no small number of the most prominent influential politicians in the country; and when some graduate's name was brought forward for confirmation, honorable senators have been heard to say, "There's another damned West Pointer." The whole sum and substance of the matter is simply this: the West Point graduates were the only educated military class in the country. They were put into responsible positions not because the Administration looked upon them with any favor, but from the necessity of the case. They were, in fact, a *pis aller*. But no administration in such a crisis would have dared to take the responsibility of ignoring them. The great coming general, with heaven-born talents and intuitive military knowledge, was hoped for, and expected to spring from the body of civil life fully armed, like Minerva from the head of Jove. But this military messiah failing to appear, the country was obliged to fall back upon West Point; with what result let the names of Grant, Sherman, Meade, Sheridan, Thomas, and the large and distinguished band of their younger comrades answer.

There are some strictures, perhaps, rather in a tone of *dénigrement*, of a minor character, in the article in question, which the public would hardly take sufficient interest in to hear discussed. Whether West Point graduates look upon their *alma mater* as the great engineering and mathematical school of the country, and whether the *curriculum* of studies on these subjects of Harvard and Yale is so much superior to that of West Point, that "their extent would make a cadet just about to graduate stare and gape," is a mere matter of opinion, easily settled by a reference to the printed programmes of the course of study and the text-books of these celebrated schools. Yale and Harvard have each invited and accepted a West Point graduate to fill the chair of engineering in their special scientific schools; Columbia College, New York, another of the leading schools of the

North, has taken three—two for mathematics and one in her scientific school; and graduates before the rebellion were to be found all through the Northern and Southern States as prominent teachers. The West Point mode of teaching the exact sciences is now followed almost universally throughout the country. West Point text-books, on one branch of science or another, are to be met with in every school pretending to science in the land. Some of them have been republished in England, translations of them have been published in Germany, and they are taught in India. West Point reckons her Tottens, and Thayers, and Delafields, and Barnards, and Gillmores at home—names that rank with the first engineering talent abroad. She has made her mark in Russia in her Whistler and Brown. Mexico is, if ever, to be reached by a railroad from Vera Cruz now under West Point graduates. It has given a Bache to our great Coast Survey, a Humphreys and an Abbott to one of the first hydraulic publications of the age, the survey of the Mississippi. And the names of Bomford, Parrott, and Rodman stand associated with the greatest improvements in ordnance.

One more quotation from this very clever article, with a few remarks, must close this already too long notice of West Point deficiencies. It says:

"Unfortunately, the effects of this neglect of the study of language do not confine themselves to the cadets while at the Military Academy. The officers of our army, especially those in high positions, are obliged to write much. The productions of most of them, both before and during the late war, have added no reputation to the service or to the school at which they were educated. So long as they confine themselves to the bare statement of facts and opinions, they are usually respectable, if eminently dry and dull. But when they leave the level ground of simple narration, and venture on more ambitious movements, their failure is conspicuous.\* With few exceptions, their productions will scarcely stand the fire of five minutes' criticism.

"The whole course should be reformed altogether, for the only real education in the use of their mother tongue the officers of our army now gain at the Military Academy is in the line of profanity."

Now this showing up is very bad, it must be confessed, but is it just? The writer of these lines knows the hackneyed commonplace phrase: *Non omnia possumus omnes*. If West Point cannot furnish to the country men who, like Cæsar, write with the same spirit that they throw into their fighting, let it be satisfied with those who are "usually respectable, if eminently dry and dull, in the bare statement of facts and opinions;" and let it congratulate itself that, at least, there are so many the fewer who "venture on more ambitious movements," by which the good taste and common sense of plain men are shocked; and which permeates our pulpits, our bar, our legislative bodies, and our public press. Whenever a West Point graduate ventures upon such "movements," let it be hoped that his failure may be eminently conspicuous. Yet there still exist the reports and despatches of General Taylor, known to have been written by his son-in-law, Colonel Bliss. We have had the reports of McClellan, and more recently those of Grant and Sherman, upon all of which the press, the *arbitrator elegantiarum* both at home and abroad, has bestowed high encomiums.

As to the grave charge of profanity, which is here repeated from the report of the Board of Visitors of last June, nothing can be said in the way of extenuation. Profanity, the vice of camps, of garrisons, of crews, of the slums of politics, and of rowdism, is equally detestable for its silliness and impiety. Unfortunately, it ever prevails where the restraining presence of woman is not felt; and, however much to be regretted, it is not to be wondered at that some of a large body of immature youths should fall into the habit. But the good taste, and the good effect to be hoped for, in spreading such a wholesale charge, in their report, by this Board, may be fairly questioned; and perhaps the right reverend gentleman who was a member of that Board might have acted more charitably, and not less wisely, if, with his colleagues, he had addressed a few words of kindly advice and remonstrance to these youths, instead of arraigning them, in this manner, before the public for a thoughtless local and temporary habit.

But, after all, these points, however open to some grave fault-finding and a little sarcasm, are not those in which the public are likely to interest themselves. The question that interests them is, How has West Point answered the purposes for which it was created? And to answer this question they will go to its record. From this record it is to be hoped no West Point

\* It will hardly be necessary to call the attention of this well-informed writer to the fact that the productions of very few of even good writers will stand the test of trenchant verbal criticism. He may not have forgotten, on this score, the objections that have been made to the opening lines of two of the celebrated productions of our two first classical writers, Dr. Johnson and Addison—"The Tragedy of Cato" and "The Vanity of Human Wishes." It is much more important to the public to learn that if the officers of the regular army cannot stand this species of fire, they have, for four years, withstood daily that of the rebel batteries and their sharpshooters; and, as an evidence of it, have left dead upon the battle-field one hundred and eighty-nine, and five hundred wounded, out of twelve hundred in the beginning of the war, or more than one-half.

graduate will take an appeal. Have they performed the duties for which they were specially educated to the best of their ability? Have they acted with carefulness and integrity in the great responsibilities, both pecuniary and in trusts of public property, that have been devolved upon them? These are questions that can only be answered by the record of facts, and by these must West Point reputation stand or fall. Opinions, discussions, and invectives are mere idle wastes of time and paper before such facts. Aided by prejudice and individual jealousy, they may crush, it is true, this now world-wide celebrated national school. But, so long as its fair fame is untarnished, its graduates will have cause to be proud of the name of a

WEST POINTER.

## Literature.

### LITERARY NOTES.

THE new volume of Mr. Bancroft's history, being the ninth of the work, may be expected in a few weeks; after a short interval it will be followed by two others, a final instalment, completing the author's design, and carrying forward the narrative to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. Considering the scarcity of authoritative books of information regarding the succeeding period, it is to be hoped that a continuation of the history may be undertaken by its author; but as to the prospects of this, nothing certain is known. The volumes of the Bancroft history hitherto published have never acquired a copyright in England, from the uncertain state of the law on the subject when they appeared, and several unauthorized reprints are in circulation there. Under the recent interpretation given to the act of Parliament an effort will probably be made to secure the property of the concluding volumes, as their value is very considerable, and the possession of them would give a control over the entire work.

—Considering the late rush of English translations of Dante that the press has teemed with, it is a singular fact that the first attempt at naturalizing any portion of the great Florentine's writings in English dates no further back than 1782, when the "Inferno" was translated and published by a Mr. Rogers. Boyd's version of the whole "Divina Commedia" appeared at the commencement of the century, in 1802, and Cary's, which still holds its ground, a year or two later. The number has recently increased to about twenty. How Dante escaped the notice of the Elizabethan writers, who were so familiar with Petrarch, Ariosto, and Tasso, is unaccountable, but, from the fact being as it is, we have probably missed a standard translation—one whose archaisms would faithfully reproduce to our minds the corresponding obscurities and dim oracular utterances of the poet, while the majestic flow of diction peculiar to the age would do justice to his mighty line. The very latest English translator is Mr. Dayman, who twenty-three years ago published his version of the "Inferno," and has now completed the entire poem. It is written in the *terza rima* of the original, a form of verse ingeniously supposed by Mr. Dayman to form a fundamental feature of the ternary structure of the whole poem, and, consequently, to be preserved by all who have a true feeling for poetry. According to the present very laudable fashion, he prints the original text on the opposite page to his own version, which is composed in nearly the same number of verses. Meanwhile, Mr. Longfellow's "Divina Commedia" is looming in the distance, and may probably be looked for from Messrs. Ticknor & Fields's press in the course of the present year.

—Unusual praise is bestowed by the English press on a selection of English love poems, edited by Thomas Dunn English, "The Book of Rubies," and brought out last Christmas by Messrs. Scribner & Co. The *Athenæum* says: "We do not know any similar collection which so honestly fulfils its purpose as this one does. The task of selection has been performed with great judgment and almost perfect taste. Many of the poems, being of American authorship, will be new to the English reader. This does not reduce the value of the collection in this country." The *Reader* also is equally laudatory. The typography of the book, a choice specimen of Mr. Alvord's press, meets with commendation equal to that bestowed on the intellectual portion of the work. The plan of the editor, Mr. English, includes a companion volume to "The Book of Rubies," entitled "The Book of Sapphires," a collection of sacred and serious poetry, got up in the same exquisite style.

—The curious matter constantly coming to light since literary relics became property of a valuable and scarcely negotiable description, was well illustrated at a recent sale in London of choice books, wherein occurred several autograph letters by Lord Byron, several of them unpublished. In one of them he says: "I hope you will find me an altered personage. I do not

mean in body but in manner, for I begin to find out that nothing but virtue will do in this d—d world." This sold for seven guineas, and another for ten guineas, dated from Greece, in which he describes himself as "left to my own resources, which consist in tolerably fluent *lingua Franca*, middling Romaic, and some variety of Ottoman oaths, of great service with a stumbling horse or a stupid servant." The gem of the collection, however, was the letter dated June 30, 1809 (printed in Moore's "Life"), written in the exhilaration of the first start for foreign travel, and containing the verses commencing "Huzza, Hodgson, we are going," etc. This sold for ten guineas. In the same sale a collection of writings and tracts by Cotton and Increase Mather, extending to thirty-nine volumes of various dates and sizes, sold for £73 19s.; and a unique fragment of a volume consisting of thirty-two leaves, containing sentences from Terence in Latin and English, "Terencii vulgaria, in Anglicam linguam tractata," brought £30. It was supposed to have been printed at Oxford during the fifteenth century, by a comparison of the type, and may probably have been a portion of a volume printed for all the schools, which would account for its almost total disappearance, as belonging to a class of books made to be "used up" while serving the purpose they were intended for. It was purchased by the Bodleian Library.

—The American public will learn with regret that Prof. Goldwin Smith contemplates the resignation of the chair of modern history in the University of Oxford through ill-health. That a gentleman who, in this position, possesses so great a power of moulding the opinions of the most influential class of the generation now coming forward in public life, and who has exercised that power in a spirit totally new to the locality and at variance with its established traditions, should think of giving it up, is very much to be lamented, as the peculiar qualities which have given such freshness and interest to his teachings are not likely to be found united in another eligible person. The purpose, however, only gives a signal proof of Prof. Goldwin Smith's elevated standard of conduct, as instances abound, nay are rather the rule than the exception, where Oxford professorships are held for years under a total incapacity to fill any duty connected with the office. Prof. Smith does not contemplate a cessation from literary labor by this step, but, if his health permits, intends to concentrate his studies on an elaborate history of the Great Rebellion and Commonwealth of England under Charles I.

—Two interesting books lately brought out in London, independently of each other, testify to the continued attraction possessed by the literature of Scandinavia for the kindred people of more southerly local position. One is "The Story of Gisl, the Outlaw," from the Icelandic "Gisl Saga," by Dr. Dasent, whose beautiful edition of the "Njala Saga" and his "Norse Tales" gave him high rank as a Scandinavian scholar. The events described in the work occurred in the tenth century, shortly after the colonization of Iceland, the heroic age of the North. By his editor Gisl is pronounced to be "a true poet," and his work in genuine thought and feeling superior to any other saga. The translation is beautifully got up in small quarto, with illustrations by St. John Mildmay. The other work appears in a more unpretending form—"Viga Glum's Saga"—the story of Viga Glum, from the Icelandic, with notes and an introduction by Sir Edmund Head. This is of ruder character than the former work, being one of the earliest known sagas composed in the pure old language, and containing important contributions to the history of manners, legislation, and religious ideas. The translation is made from the original, with which Sir Edmund Head shows a perfect familiarity, as well as with the literature of the subject. Lord Derby and Mr. Gladstone have brought Greek into fashion, so this small work is prefaced by a Greek epigram on Iceland, from the pen of Mr. Robert Lowe.

—The announcement of the death of Thomas L. Peacock in his eightieth year will fail to convey any association to the minds of most readers of the present generation, though the few who are familiar with the series of his works, commencing with "Headlong Hall" and extending to "Gryll Grange," published as late as four or five years since, will hear of it with regret. Mr. Peacock, though a Liberal in politics, never wrote for the million. His works are rather the outpourings of a full mind, all assuming a similar quaint and peculiar form, faithfully reflecting the writer's idiosyncrasies, than works of art, though passing for novels among circulating libraries, whose customers must often have been puzzled at the curious learning, general good-fellowship, and out-of-the-way discussion that they exhibit. They comprise, besides the two named, "Nightmare Abbey," "Maid Marian," "Crotchet Castle," and "The Misfortunes of Elphin." As the friend and executor of Shelley, Mr. Peacock also published in "Fraser's Magazine" a series of papers most important for the true understanding of

the poet's career, and especially respecting the circumstances of his first marriage and early wedded life. These would well repay separate republication. No particulars of Mr. Peacock's life are given in the books of reference. It was probably uneventful, and mostly spent in that nursery of talent, the old East India House, where he was the official companion of John Stuart Mill, among the highest in position of the whole vast establishment. He was, to judge from his writings, a native of Wales. Among several charming lyrics scattered through his books are some splendid translations of Taliesin and the Welsh bards, including the only lines he ever wrote that have obtained general currency, the Celtic war-song commencing:

"The mountain sheep are sweeter,  
But the valley sheep are fatter;  
We therefore deemed it meet  
To carry off the latter," etc., etc.,

which is given in "The Misfortunes of Elphin" as the version of a Welsh original.

—We regret to notice that the anxiously expected "Life of Charles Lamb," announced as in preparation by Barry Cornwall (B. W. Procter), has dwindled down to a selection from his works, with a life (in all probability a brief sketch) prefaced. It will form a volume of Moxon's "Miniature Poets," for which series Mr. Algernon Swinburne, author of "Atalanta in Calydon," etc., will edit a selection of Lord Byron's works, prefaced by a critical essay.

—The new volume of poems by Mr. Robert Buchanan, "London Idyls," is more ambitious in its aim than any of his previous works. Its plan seems modelled on some of Mr. Browning's writings, apparently, as it consists principally of monologues, forming psychological studies (like the famous "Bishop Blougram," etc.) of a somewhat unusual kind. As described in advance of publication, the analytical skill of the poet is employed on subjects sometimes of a repulsive character, as "The Murder Idyl," in which the speaker is a woman whose husband has been hanged; "The Ballad Maker," a writer of street songs vainly endeavoring to express his feelings, and who catches a gleam of poetry without knowing it in his efforts to comfort a poor dying carter lad with a song; and "The Real Mr. Honeydew," a fashionable preacher who recalls too forcibly Thackeray's secular character of Charles Honeyman. Besides these idyls there are promised in the volume a modern poem of considerable length, lyrics, and several north-coast idyls—studies of local dialect, following the example set by Tennyson in his "Lincolnshire Farmer." The mention of the laureate's name reminds us of the current rumor that he is busily engaged on a poem of which nothing further is made known than that it is founded on a classical subject.

—A lady who has been a voluminous authoress in fiction and journal literature, and, under the name of "Holme Lee," has acquired an extended reputation, is about to make her appearance in public in *propria persona* as Harriet Parr, in connection with "The Life and Death of Joanne d'Arc, called the Maid," in two volumes crown 8vo. The liberality of the French Government has made public, in the "Monument Historique," the whole series of documents remaining in the national archives on the trial and condemnation of Joan of Arc. They form an invaluable mass of contemporary records, and will afford Miss Parr much material new to English readers. The very curious evidence lately brought forward by M. Octave Delepiere to prove that the Maid of Orleans, instead of being burnt at Rouen, actually survived till the next reign, married, and had children, must be noticed, though so lame a conclusion to a story rich in the noblest tragic interest can never be accepted without the strongest possible confirmation. Miss Parr's work will be issued by Messrs. Smith & Elder.

—The list of books in press by Messrs. Blackwood & Son includes the third and fourth volumes of Count Montalembert's earnest, eloquent, and picturesque history of European monachism, "The Monks of the West, from St. Benedict to St. Bernard," the translation authorized by the author under the provisions of the international copyright law; "Geology for General Readers," by David Page, F.G.S., the gentleman who is supposed to have found the science for the once famous "Vestiges of Creation"; "The Operations of War Explained and Illustrated," by Col. E. B. Hamley, author of the "Story of Sebastopol," in one vol. quarto, with plans, etc.; "The History of Scotland, from Agricola's Invasion to the Revolution of 1688," by John Hill Burton, author of "The Bookhunter," etc.; "Physiology of the Farm, in Raising and Feeding the Live Stock," by Henry Stephens (whose "Book of the Farm" is a standard authority) and William Seller, M.D. It has been one of the characteristics of Messrs. Blackwood's career as publishers not to permit any books issued by them to be thrown on the market at a reduced price, to the prejudice of book-buyers and the unsettlement of trade values. Any book not found salable that they publish is silently with-

drawn from sale, and the entire number of copies destroyed. Their liberality to authors is well exemplified in their transactions with the family of Robert Pollock, author of "The Course of Time," to whom they had gratuitously paid several thousand pounds after becoming fairly the owners of the copyright for a very trifling sum. Under their management Sir Archibald Alison is supposed to have received a larger amount of copyright money than any author in Great Britain, with the possible exception of Sir Walter Scott. This is accounted for by the bulk and high price of the historical works and the numerous editions they have gone through.

### ROBERT OWEN.\*

EARNESTNESS is so remarkable a quality—earnestness in behalf of the neglected and the poor is so very remarkable—earnestness amounting to a life-long devotion and based on a principle is so rare—that, in our opinion, it should have the hearty admiration of every man who is himself in earnest. If the earnestness is wild, smile at the wildness, but give the earnestness its praise. If it is misspent, be sorry for it, but honor it with even more tenderness. If it proceeds on a mistaken principle, kindly show wherein the principle is mistaken, and show, if possible, how a different principle would answer better; but still protect the earnestness from slight or depreciation. This would seem to be the part of a wise man. But if it be, the author of this little book is not wise; for, though he will not admit that he is insensible to the claims which an earnest man has on his admiration, he thinks something else—his own theory of human nature and human society for instance—so much more respectable than earnestness, that the latter great quality gets but a modicum of commendation, and that of a patronizing sort, in consequence of its alleged theoretic unsoundness.

Whatever else Robert Owen may have been, he was an intensely earnest man. He spent great sums of money, devoted large portions of valuable time, exposed himself to many and severe personal privations, submitted to repeated misunderstandings, discouragements, and failures; and through all, with unabated fidelity, with undimmed hope, with a cheerfulness that never gave out and an amiability that would never be crossed, he—a rich and able and prosperous man—labored for those who were neither able, prosperous, nor rich—the working classes of Scotland, England, and every part of the earth. His patience was admirable, his resolution untiring, his heart generous, as we say, to a fault; his spirit was, in the true sense of the word, humane. He knew no distinction of persons, but placed the poor man on the same ground of humanity with the rich. He deplored the jealousy that existed between capitalist and laborer to the injury of both, and did his utmost to remove it by proving their interests identical. He had great faith in reason mingled with kindness, in kindness supported by reason. He was a man of unimpeachable integrity, unquestioned veracity, and unsullied purity. But of all this the reader of this life will obtain very little information and very grudging admission. A great deal is said of Mr. Owen's vanity and inflation and fussy self-importance, but when his nobler qualities are mentioned they are mentioned with such invariable abatement and qualification as to raise a doubt whether they substantially existed at all. We are not allowed to forget for the space of a single short chapter the social and religious heresies for which the reformer was unhappily famous, and which no personal consecration should, in this author's judgment, be allowed to palliate or conceal.

To those heresies we are by no means blind or indifferent. They were certainly very grave, as Mr. Owen's experience proved. They were put forth with a zeal that was intemperate and with an air of authority that was disagreeable. With his crudely digested dogma of human irresponsibility, according to which man is the creature of outward circumstances and of physical organization, a dogma which reduces society to a piece of mechanism, we disclaim, of course, all agreement and all sympathy. His other cardinal doctrine of "communism," apart from its irrationality and error, seems to us void and sterile. But these two dogmas do not sum up Mr. Owen's faith, and if they did, there was something in the spirit in which he held them that should shield him from opprobrium. It is better to hold error in the spirit of truth than truth in the spirit of error. Mr. Owen held error, grave error, deplorable error, if you will, but he held it in the spirit of truth; he held it in charity; and so holding it, he in a measure disarmed it. His own devoted energy corrected the fatalism of his creed; his own glowing zeal warmed up its coldness; his own independence balanced its rigidity; his incessant hopefulness helped to take away the dead-level character of its range; his own ardent goodness saved it under his advocacy from the charge of immoral tendencies. In order to condemn his theory we must separate it from himself.

But in condemning his theory we must not suppose, with the writer of

\* "Life of Robert Owen" Philadelphia: Ashmead & Evans. 12mo, pp. 264.

this life, that we have put his faith under condemnation. Robert Owen's faith was something more than his dogma. He believed in an eternal and infinite Creator, who made the world in order that it might become happy in becoming perfect, and who had planted in the constitution of undivided and associated man the vital principles and laws by which the perfect happiness might and must be attained. Religion, in his view, consisted in charity to all mankind, devotion to the truth, patient study and faithful observance of all the facts and conditions which indicate and produce personal and social well-being; charity, moderation, kindness, contentment, cheerfulness, obedience to the divinely enacted and imposed laws of being, were the qualities that were well pleasing in the sight of heaven. He lived in the faith that the end of existence would be fulfilled in the practice of mutual good-will, and the earnest desire to contribute to the happiness of mankind without distinction of race, blood, or color. True happiness, he went on to contend, was the result of a sound mind in a sound body, the elements thereof being a purpose to increase the happiness of our kind and to augment the sum of human knowledge; freedom from superstition, freedom from malice, freedom from untruth, freedom from indifference, freedom from all that hampers personal independence and hinders individual development.

These beliefs may be very wild and visionary, foolish, utopian, and all that. They certainly are so regarded by the great mass of mankind in and out of Christendom. We may smile at them, but have we any right to smile contemptuously at them? Is there not a certain beauty in them which makes them lovely to the imagination, even if they seem impalpable to the common understanding of mankind? Yet the author of this new "Life" suspects no elevation here. After confessing in one paragraph that Mr. Owen, in his address before the American Congress, in 1824, "proposed greatly to enlarge the liberty of the people, which he considered rather nominal than real; for while in a political sense, as in the choice of rulers, the enactment of laws, etc., they enjoyed great freedom, the 'national mind' was yet under the tyranny of prejudice"—while admitting that "he proposed to disenthral it, and introduce an order of things under which there should be no restraint save that of mutual love and good-will, all sources of discontent, poverty, controversy, crime, and misery should be dried up and the inhabitants of the land compose one harmonious brotherhood"—after giving a condensed summary of his positions, among which are these, that "the constitution of our nature was formed by the power which originally gave it existence to be influenced by the circumstances which should surround it; it is the science of circumstances by which, without any chance of failure, virtue, intelligence, affluence, and happiness may be secured to every individual of the rising generation," he opens the next paragraph in this wise: "In spite of the offensiveness of Mr. Owen's doctrines and pretensions to all sober and well-informed minds, we always find something to admire in the earnestness and single-mindedness with which he pursued his aims." Now see what he means by "admiration of earnestness and single-mindedness." "A visit to an insane asylum is, in many respects, very painful, yet there is no more interesting school for the student of psychological phenomena. Among the patients we have often observed with surprise that one apparently supposes himself to have an advantage over another, and rather shuns association with him, or looks on him with evident sympathy [we presume the writer means *pity*], as if himself were exempted from so dire a calamity. We heard something analogous to this [pity of the more insane for the less?] in connection with the two discourses delivered by Mr. Owen in the halls of Congress."

We repeat, to the social and ethical theories propounded in those two discourses, and in other writings of Mr. Owen, we give no assent whatever. We hold them to be superficial and fallacious—so superficial and so fallacious as to carry with them their own refutation, and be practically, to any considerable extent, harmless; but we consider that the aims, purposes, endeavors and spirit of Mr. Owen receive no just treatment at the hands of his biographer. Why was this biography written? was the question that kept coming up as chapter after chapter was left behind in the reading. As an account of Robert Owen's life it would be unsatisfactory by reason of the meagreness of its detail and the narrowness of its view, even if the author were not every now and then throwing suspicion on the only authentic narrative in his possession, namely, the "Autobiography," by intimating that the writer's self-conceit probably got the better of his veracity in some particulars. As an account of Mr. Owen's work, the book has little value, for the effort to underrate its importance and set down its accomplishment at the lowest figure is apparent on almost every page. As a statement of Mr. Owen's social philosophy it is wholly inadequate, for, while casual mention is made of St. Simon and Fourier, there is no attempt to describe their systems or to define the points wherein they were distinguished from

the Scotchman's. As a presentment of Mr. Owen's religious philosophy, the volume is worse than inadequate, for it leaves the positive side of it entirely out of view; intimates, in fact, that it had no positive side at all.

Why, then, was it written? Was it written for reproof and warning? Warning against what? Surely not a general disposition to copy Robert Owen either in his aims or his methods. There is no occasion for bidding our generation beware of one or the other. The elevation of his purposes is not likely to find many popular imitators, and the time for such experiments as he made is gone by—not for a very long time, at least, to return. Communism is a dead scheme; or if not, the name of Robert Owen has no power to bring it again into favor. The new science of "sociology" makes small account of his studies or his labors. They who would meet to-day the philosophy which teaches that man is the creature of organization and circumstance, the subject of conditions and the result of law, must be prepared to deal not with Robert Owen, but with Buckle and Draper. And this man is not the man for that. Why did he write this book? The only answer we can give to the question is this; he imagined that the modern doctrines of social science, in their latest form of development, were no stronger than the weakest part of Owen's immature theory.

### MISS SEWELL'S PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION.\*

THE first thing to do in noticing this book is to clear away its local peculiarities and references. Many, perhaps all of them, would have been modified or suppressed by the author herself, had an opportunity been offered her by the American publisher. She would have widened her range, had she been invited to prepare an edition for this country, by applying her principles to "female education" not only "in the upper classes," but in other classes by whom her lessons would be equally appreciated. She would have laid less stress upon the immorality, or the tendency to immorality, in the circle she addressed; she would have said little or nothing of separation between mothers and daughters or the means by which they might be re-united. On the other hand, she might have spoken of some evils among us which do not exist among her people, and, sensitive as we are to English criticism, we might have welcomed such criticism as hers. Yet after admitting the Anglicanism of the book, and ascribing it, as we ought to do, to the publisher who does not consult his author, we can say that Miss Sewell has written a work capable of doing great service to the cause of education in the United States.

To say that it is emphatically a woman's book is to say nothing against it, but rather a great deal for it. Written by a woman, it is the more sensitive to

—"those first affections,  
Those shadowy recollections,"

in which the training of the child begins. Written for women, it addresses those to whom the care of the young first falls, and by whom the growing years are most deeply and most lastingly affected. When Doña Oliva Sabuco dedicated her "Philosophy of the Nature of Man" to Philip II. of Spain, she told his majesty that a woman was then rendering him a greater service than any which he had received from men. No woman can write of education, especially of female education, in a spirit like Miss Sewell's without doing what a man cannot do, though he write ever so wisely or powerfully.

The book before us is "the result," as the author remarks, "not of theory but of experience." She might have said, of unusual experience. Miss Sewell has had the care of very young children, orphans in their infancy, and brought up by her as by a mother. She has taken charge of private pupils, to whom she has devoted herself with daily fidelity for years. She has been constantly writing, now a book to be used in the school-room, now one to be read in the closet, besides the tales which have rendered her name familiar wherever the contemporary literature of England is known. In all these writings the purpose to teach, and to teach out of the full measure of the writer's experiences, is a distinguishing characteristic. They are the utterances of a life of responsibility and of exertion for others, and, whatever else may be said about them, this much is indisputable, that they deserve to be received with respectful attention.

These principles of education that Miss Sewell has drawn from nature and revelation are addressed, above all, to mothers. She would assist them in their care; she would give them something of the reflection, something of the self-control, which they always need but do not always possess; she would not relieve them of their duties, perhaps she would not even lighten them, but she would help them to consistency, completeness, and success.

\* "Principles of Education, drawn from Nature and Revelation and applied to Female Education in the Upper Classes. By the Author of 'Amy Herbert,' etc., etc." London: Longmans. Republished by D. Appleton & Co., New York.

There are few mothers, very few young mothers, who will not thank us for having urged them to read this volume, if they read it thoughtfully. But it is not for mothers alone. It speaks to daughters of the dutifulness they owe their parents, of the graces they may cultivate, the errors they may shun. It calls upon them to bear their part in their education, to control themselves, to give as well as to receive, and to live for the good of others, their kindred and their neighbors, as well as for their own. There are other passages for teachers, particularly for those who, like governesses, are brought into personal relations with their pupils. The sympathy expressed in their labors, the opportunity of comparing notes, the correction of effort already begun, the suggestion of effort yet to be begun, will excite the interest of all engaged in offices of instruction. Nor will it fail to strike female teachers particularly, how earnestly Miss Sewell pleads for the consideration that is due to them, and for the exaltation of which she justly thinks their present condition susceptible.

All this is said, and said in detail to which we can do no justice here, with precision and clearness. The book is decided. It is also, and that in these days is its credit, intelligible. It is not one of those treatises that puzzle the mind with problems they leave unsolved. Education is treated as a subject involving grave questions, but not too grave to be answered, just as it involves serious labors, but not too serious to be discharged. Mothers, daughters, and teachers are all to be watchful, even anxious, but not desponding. The most painful of their efforts need not be fruitless; the most threatening of their difficulties need not prove insuperable.

"So others shall  
Take patience, labor, to their heart and hand,  
From thy hand, and thy heart, and thy brave cheer,  
And God's grace fructify through thee to all."

"The one sole desire of the writer," says the preface, "has been to base the principles of education upon the teaching of God in nature and revelation." To do this, Miss Sewell confesses that she has neither relied upon nor sought after anything that can be called new. "Education," she says in her first chapter, "can by no possibility be founded upon any principles in the nineteenth century which were not equally in existence and equally binding at the time when man's present state of probation began." Why, then, another book upon a subject so very old? Because, as Miss Sewell insists, "every age and every phase of society has its own characteristics, its own dangers, and its own fallacies, and will therefore necessarily view the subject of education in a manner peculiar to what may be called its own idiosyncrasies." As for the present age, its idiosyncrasy is described as an excessive regard for what it terms system. "Everything undertaken—more especially if it refers to the training of the young—is to be carried on upon some definite plan." But it is especially in the training of the young that system—in other words, a single unbroken mode of action—is objectionable. "A system must, so far as it is a system, act without regard to the varieties of character; it must aim at producing the same tone of mind in every individual subjected to its influence; and the first elementary truth in education—because lying at the foundation, as it would appear, of all God's dealings with man, and all His purposes for him—is, that we are neither required nor intended to have the same tone of mind." From this point Miss Sewell goes on to show how God has actually dealt with some of his chosen instruments, as with Joseph and Moses in the Old Testament, or with St. Paul in the New, giving a different discipline to each, and training each to the achievement of its appointed ends. Hence comes the inference that if such is God's system of education, man's systems must correspond to it, or else inevitably fail to educate those whom they take in charge. Of all the principles set forth in the book this is the sum: "that the object of education is the carrying out of God's will for the individual; that the purpose of His will is hidden from us in the eternal counsels of God, but that the direction in which we are to work is pointed out to us by the peculiar endowments of character and of intellect with which every person is gifted, whilst the principles which are to guide us are contained in the two great commands—to love God wholly, and to love our neighbor as ourselves."

Such is the Scriptural theory of education, the only theory, as our author argues, which can be employed with any confidence or hopefulness. It removes, as will be seen at once, many of the embarrassments in which education is necessarily involved, though it cannot, of course, remove those which are essential and inevitable. To some of these, to all indeed of most frequent recurrence, Miss Sewell proceeds to advert, taking them up from the human nature that underlies them all to the forms which each assumes according to the dispositions or circumstances in which it appears. Perhaps a general idea of the manner in which they are treated may be gathered from the view that is taken of evil as a whole. It is not, according to Miss Sewell, "a distinct principle in itself, but a perversion of good." When,

therefore, we would deal with the evil that appears in the nature of a child we must not set ourselves madly against it as something to be utterly annihilated, but must be patient with it, and indeed make use of it as an indication of latent good, in order that the good may be evolved and rendered the predominant power in the character which we are attempting to form. Falsehood or temper, pride or vanity, whatever the fault may be, covers some fine trait from which the film must be taken away and the blur removed, but which is itself to be tenderly rather than roughly handled. A philosophy like this lights up the darker passages of education and gives buoyancy to the step which threads them in the hope of reaching the open day. But we must refer to Miss Sewell's chapters for illustrations of the practice to which her theory leads.

Two things above the rest appear to characterize the work under review. One is its determination to look forward, to regard the child not only as the child, but as the woman that is to be; and more than this, to regard both the child and the woman as on the way toward eternity. The other characteristic is the reference to a higher power than any which the parent or the teacher can wield, and on which they, as well as the children committed to them, are dependent for every fruit of education or of life. We are free to say that such things as these seem to us to stamp this book with a nobleness far above the educational works that lay stress upon the present as if it were the only time for which education is a preparation; or yet more blindly extol the human intellect as the one sufficient source of knowledge and power for the race. To those who prefer these views, Miss Sewell's book will not be acceptable; but it will have not its welcome only, but its abiding place, with such as, like her, look forward and upward. That touching letter to John Wesley from one of his followers recurs to us as we would describe the education to which Miss Sewell's principles apply:

"I have had as blessed times sitting at work as ever I had in my life, with God in my sight and heaven in my soul. I think myself one of the happiest creatures below the skies. I do not complain that God has not made me some fine thing to be set up or to be gazed at; but I can heartily bless him that he has made me just what I am, a creature capable of the enjoyment of himself."

As Joubert said, "Nous vivons dans un siècle où les idées superflues surabondent, et qui n'a pas les idées nécessaires." Here in this book, of which our account is evidently an imperfect one, the reader will find the ideas most necessary in education. We trust they will have a large circulation and, better still, a lasting influence throughout our country.

### THE BARDIC SCALE.\*

In attempting the study of this volume we were somewhat staggered by the following sentence in the introduction:

"There are no rules belonging to any art that need no changing to meet the requirements of subsequent discoveries but the bardic rules of the Cambrians; and there are no inventions by any nation that will not bear improvement, when used by other nations, except these metres."

The illiberal spirit here exhibited pervades the whole volume, and detracts from the merits of a composition showing great labor and research in the compilation and arrangement of materials, for the author disclaims originality, as indeed it is difficult to see how he could be original in treating of an art already brought to perfection, except in his style of explaining its mystic rules to the uninitiated. Another objection to this otherwise excellent work is the controversial spirit in which it is written. The bardic fraternity are divided into two factions—the one advocating what is known as the "Carmarthen System," and the other the "Glamorgan System." Our author belongs to the latter, and it would be difficult to find for it a sturdier or better champion.

It appears that a bardic assembly was held at Carmarthen in the year 1451, under the auspices of Griffith ap Nicholas, of Dinefor, where the bardic rules were recast, and new metres adopted to supply the places of those that were supposed to have been lost in the wars and commotions of preceding years. These rules were adopted without much opposition at the time, and became the acknowledged rules of bardic composition for many years. Indeed, they have not lost their supremacy to this day, notwithstanding the most strenuous efforts on the part of their opponents.

Those who disapproved of the rules of bardism as established in 1451, went zealously to work to recover the "lost art" of their forefathers and arrange the old materials into a system, and claimed that these were the true rules of composition, until they finally succeeded in having both systems put on an equal footing, so that the poet could follow either or both at his

\* "The Bardic Scale: an Essay on the Metrical Rules of Cambrian Poetry in Ancient and Modern Times, and explaining the Nature and Value of the Four-and-Twenty Metres of Song. By Robert Ellis." With an Introduction by A. Jones.

own option. There is considerable difference between the two, but this difference exists more as to quantity than to quality; the one allows more variety than the other, but both call for a strict adherence to the rules of alliteration or consonancy, which is the distinguishing feature of Welsh poetry—a feature that could not possibly be introduced into the poetic compositions of any other language. Though considerable latitude is allowed to the poet, still there must be a certain amount of alliteration or consonance in every line; and a failure to comply with the rules on this subject is sure to consign any composition, no matter what may be its excellence in other respects, to eternal oblivion. There is much written in Welsh in what are called the “free metres” (similar to English metres), but these are considered as only inferior compositions, and the true poet scorns the idea of being engaged in such baby-work. To give the reader an idea of this alliteration we will offer an example in the language itself:

“*Trwst taran tros y tiroedd.*”

It will be observed that all the consonants in the first two words are the same as those in the last three, with the exception of the last in the second and fifth. But the two *t*'s at the end of the first word and the beginning of the second are allowed to answer for the *t* at the beginning of the fifth. The consonants in the first half of the verse are in the same order as those in the last half. Had the poet introduced another consonant in the first part, without a corresponding one in the last, or had the order been different in one of the parts from what it is in the other, or had the last consonant of the second word been the same as the last of the fifth, the inexorable bardic law would have been violated, and the composition condemned. The poor bard is not always required to have all his consonants alliterate as they do in this line; but whether few or many, he must follow the same general principle in his composition. A style much easier than the foregoing, and more commonly used, is the alliteration of two or more syllables in the verse.

There are twenty-four metres, and the lines vary from four to twelve syllables. The metre most in vogue is the “epigram,” which is well adapted for the expression of a sentiment in a terse, vigorous, and pithy style; and many of the best authors make it a point to have the *sound* of the words as well as their *sense* remind the reader of the subject. The following, descriptive of a cataract, is undoubtedly the best in the language:

“*Uchelgadr raidr dwr ewyn—hydrwyllt,  
Edrych arno'n disgyn;  
Crochwaedd y rhedlif crychwyn,  
Synu pensyfrdanu dyn.*”

In some of the metres of the Carmarthen system the principle of alliteration is carried to such an absurd extreme that they have been generally abandoned by a kind of mutual consent.

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that these characteristics are the essentials of Cambrian poetry. These are the garments in which it is to be dressed and the ornaments with which it is to be decorated. It is no wonder that sometimes more attention has been paid to the ornaments than to the thing itself, and good rhythm has been allowed to supply the place of poetic sentiment. According to old Welsh authority, it is required of a poet to “have an eye to see nature, a heart to feel nature, and courage to follow nature;” and when the principle of this sentiment is carried out by a master of the rules of composition, when the inward spirit corresponds to the outward appearance, the effect is wonderfully charming. The ear is attracted by the sound, as the mind is attracted by the sentiment.

*Poems Relating to the American Revolution.* By Philip Freneau. With an Introductory Memoir and Notes. By Evert A. Duyckinck. (W. J. Widdleton, New York.)—Freneau was a native of New York and a descendant of one of those rather numerous Huguenot refugees who sought an asylum on the shores of our bay. He was a graduate of Princeton College, in the same class with James Madison; and in Jersey he spent the greater and the latter part of his days. We learn from Mr. Duyckinck's entertaining memoir that the poet was as warm an admirer as Jefferson of the doctrines of revolutionary France; and it is evident that his French blood strengthened his patriotic hatred of Britain. He suffered, too, at this point, in the prison-ships of the enemy, such hardships as were calculated to make his resentment implacable. As he sang the exploits of John Paul Jones in the first war with the mother country, so he lived to celebrate the naval victories which alone redeemed our warfare in 1812. We have called him a poet rather than an apt rhymester, because the present selection from his poems is evidently not a fair sample of his imaginative powers, and we are willing to concede something to the estimation in which he is held by the editor; and also because even among the contents of this volume we detect a trace of the divine afflatus. “Arnold's Departure,” in imitation of Horace, shows no little skill and scholarship, and full intellectual sympathy with the spirit of the original. The following is worth quoting for its intrinsic merit and for its pertinency to the late civil struggle. It is called

THE NORTHERN SOLDIER.

In vain you talk of fruits and flowers,  
When rude December chills the plain,

And nights are cold, and long the hours,  
To damp the ardor of the swain;  
Who, parting from his social fire,  
All comfort must forego,  
And here, and there,  
And everywhere,  
Pursue the invading foe.

But we must sleep in frosts and snows  
No season breaks up our campaign;  
Hard as the oaks, we dare oppose  
The autumnal or the wintry reign.  
Alike to us, the winds that blow  
In summer's season gay,  
Or those that rave  
On Hudson's wave,  
And drift his ice away.

Traitors and death may cloud our scene,  
The ball may pierce, the cold may kill,  
And dire misfortunes intervene:  
But Freedom shall be potent still.

Mr. Freneau had a green old age, dying not earlier than 1833. His political verses are inseparable from the history of the formative period of our government, and deserve the present substantial edition of them. This city is under renewed obligation to the publisher for his preservation of its local antiquities.

*Robert Dalby and His World of Troubles.* Being the Early Days of a Connoisseur. (J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.)—This anonymous romance, an English production, excites a certain sort of interest by its incidents, which are varied enough and not improbable, but scarcely any by the character or want of character of its hero. With all his troubles, this personage risked far more than he encountered, and, considering the number of times he was rescued from impending misfortune by unlooked-for benefactors, might as well have had something to say about his world of friends. He virtually admits his failure as a painter, and the little art-talk in which he indulges creates the suspicion that his pretensions to the title of connoisseur are mistaken and ill-grounded. The author seems to have conceived a life, as he thought, eminently favorable to an artistic temperament, and to have attempted to portray it in the form of a novel, revealing, however, neither an intimate acquaintance with nature nor with the technics of his profession. The story has very little plot; the actors die or are dropped off according as they become inconvenient; and the few conversations which are tolerated are generally formal as in a play. Nevertheless the descriptions of sundry localities, chiefly in one of the university cities, have an air of reality, and there are some effective touches in a few of the personal delineations. The “world of troubles” is bounded by the four seas, and in Holland the connoisseur finds wealth and a wife.

*Wanderings over Bible Lands and Seas.* By the author of “The Schönberg-Cotta Family.” (Robert Carter & Bros., New York.)—These notes of travel begin with Malta and end with Smyrna. The ground has been so thoroughly gone over and described in all manner of detail that little is left for ordinary tourists to descant upon. Nor do we learn here for the first time how a devout mind is affected by scenes which are sanctified in the history of the Christian faith. Yet we would not say that this volume is without instruction both geographical and religious. Its value for the reader will depend upon his previous acquaintance with the library of the East.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE HISTORY OF HENRY THE FIFTH: KING OF ENGLAND, LORD OF IRELAND, AND HEIR OF FRANCE. By George Makepeace Towle. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

THE ALHAMBRA.—WOLFEY'S ROOST AND OTHER PAPERS. By Washington Irving. G. P. Putnam; Hurd & Houghton, New York.

LETTERS OF PETER COOPER ON THE NECESSITY OF A WISE, DISCRIMINATING TARIFF, ETC. *The Iron Age*, New York.

SPENCERIAN KEY TO PRACTICAL PENMANSHIP. By H. C. Spencer. Ivison, Phinney, Blakeman & Co., New York.

ORIGIN OF THE LATE WAR. Traced from the Beginning of the Constitution to the Revolt of the Southern States. By George Lunt.—LETTERS OF LIFE. By Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

THE CURRENCY AND FINANCES. Reduce the Debt before Contracting the Currency. By Sam. R. Reed, of the Cincinnati *Gazette*. Gazette Office, Cincinnati.

JAMES LOUIS PETIGRU. A Biographical Sketch. By William J. Grayson.—AGNES. A Novel. By Mrs. Oliphant. Harper and Bros. New York.

JEALOUSY. By George Sand. T. B. Peterson & Bros., Philadelphia.

THE PARABLES READ IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRESENT DAY. By Thomas Guthrie, D.D.—A PLEA FOR THE QUEEN'S ENGLISH. By Henry Alford, D.D. Second Edition. Alexander Strahan, London and New York.

## Fine Arts.

### TWO PICTURE SALES.

AN important sale of foreign pictures, principally by French artists, will begin on Thursday evening, the 8th of March. As we write, the pictures are on exhibition, under the charge of Mr. S. P. Avery, at the “Old Düsseldorf Gallery” on Broadway, next door to “Tiffany's.”

An auction sale and the antecedent show do not offer a good opportunity for criticism of works of art. That is especially the case in the present instance, on account of the shortness of time, the great number of pictures (“250, by 135 different artists”), the imperfect light upon them in the gloomy old gallery where they hang, their varying merit representing

every grade but the highest, and the absolute impossibility of so using words as to express rightly all those grades among such a jostling crowd of canvases. But many of these pictures we have spoken of before. Here, for instance, is that picture by De Jonghe, of which the name is "La Cause Intime," one of the painter's most recent works, and exhibited in the Paris Exhibition of last spring. It is No. 163 A of this sale-catalogue, and is called "The Two Friends." Here is that admirable picture by M. Florent Willems, of which we spoke at length in THE NATION of January 11, 1866—"Au Roi!" It is No. 59 of the catalogue. Here, No. 60, is Gérôme's "Diogenes," the little picture with which New York is grown somewhat acquainted and knows well in photography. No. 178 is that picture of Tissot's, "The Attempted Abduction," miscalled "The Duel," which we described in THE NATION of February 1. It seems to us the best Tissot that has been brought to this country.

A landscape by Otto Weber, of Berlin, No. 48, "The Ox-cart—Brittany," is of great merit. Long acquaintance with it enables us to say that it "improves upon acquaintance." Another, by the same artist, No. 172, "The Wood Merchant—Brittany," we now see for the first time; it seems to be of nearly equal value with its fellow. The best landscape by Lambinet that we know of is the large one, No. 170, "Autumn [afternoon] at St. Marc de la Bruyère." This is the best landscape in the room, unless the darkness of the miserably lighted gallery makes things seem as they are not. The little landscape by M. Plassan is pleasantly characteristic of the painter and, in its peculiar way, really "a gem." The merits of his landscapes do not inhere in his figures. The portrait by Merle, for portrait it seems to be, belongs to an order of pictures for which we have as little sympathy as for any work of man, but partly explains the popularity of the painter, from the character of the notice it commands. Every visitor to the gallery is compelled to look at it within five minutes after his entrance. Mr. Boughton, our countryman, sends a picture of thought and interest, No. 43, "The Past." One Spanish painter, at least, is represented, Señor Parra, who has sent two pictures, from which it appears that flower painting is a specialty of his. Baron Wappers, one of the lights of the Flemish school, is not well represented by his great picture "Italia," but that is generally and naturally the case with the more celebrated painters in American exhibitions—their best work does not cross the water. Every brush-mark of so celebrated an artist will fetch an exorbitant price.

Among the numerous drawings, in water color, in pencil, and (*à la française*) in both, the charming fruit-piece by dead William Hunt is unquestionably the most beautiful. Why is it hung up above the eye? It has been hanging in a good place in Mr. Avery's pleasant rooms on Fourth Street; where it now is, it is hardly recognizable. There are six little drawings in water color by Calmelet, very charming, though not—perhaps not pretending to be—literal in color. A little pen-and-ink sketch by Gavarni is worth notice, and worth money. The drawing by Gustave Doré is not good, very unworthy of the artist, but is also worth money, and plenty of it.

The catalogue of this sale would serve anybody for a text who might wish to preach thoroughness in small things. In the first place it is not a catalogue, but a very helter-skelter list. The numbers of pictures are not arranged as the pictures are hung, nor according to any alphabetical order of artists' names, nor according to schools, nor according to any discoverable system. Even the works of one painter are not printed together. The pictures have been hung as came handy, with some regard to placing two works by the same man opposite to each other or balancing on the same wall; and the "catalogue" for its part must have been made out from old invoices. But they were not invoices of the original shipments from Europe, for the names of painters suffer dreadfully. The existence of accents is ignored; e, è, and é were evidently all one vowel to the proof-reader, and even the somewhat important circumflex accent merely a form. The mistakes in printing *Frere* and *Leon* without the accents are not very serious mistakes, but it is worse when we find Honoré and René turned in the same line into *Honore* and *Rene*, and even the well-known name of Gustave Doré printed *Dore*. Then, for misspelling of names, Mr. Boughton has an important letter left out of his, and appears as *Boughton* (307), Mr. Merle appears as *Huges Merle* (175), Mr. Athanase Aufray has his saintly Christian name (Athanasiue) turned into *Athanse* (133), and we have marked perhaps a score of other such blunders, Emille for Emile several times, Isadore for Isidore, etc. People should remember that Frenchmen's names are as important to them as Yankees'. But there is yet to be noticed perhaps the most delicious bit of all. M. Louis Lanfant was born at Metz, and is often called Lanfant de Metz, just as a certain Herr Meyer is called Meyer von Bremen. The latter is called Meyer of Bremen, very properly, in the catalogue, and the former, very properly, too, but inconsistently, is left untranslated. But

there appears a little hand-catalogue printed on foolscap paper, and the well-known painter of No. 63 appears as "De Metz" merely. That is as if Mr. Boughton were to be called "of Albany," or Mr. Whistler "Bostonian," in France, which we believe they are not. Is Düsseldorf always to be printed Dusseldorf?

A number of pictures by Mr. George H. Hall are on exhibition at Miner & Somerville's gallery, to be sold on March 12. They look better all together than when contrasted with pictures brighter in color. The gallery walls are pleasantly filled, and all the pictures easily to be seen; moreover, Mr. Hall does not defy the public by asking them to bid for sketches and scrawls and used-up studies, but he has sent seventy finished pictures. The sale is intelligently arranged, too; the frames are not to be sold at auction, but must be taken at cost price by the purchasers of the pictures to which they belong.

Of Mr. Hall's pictures those we like the best are the cherries on bough and strawberry plants, and like groups of fruit in a state of nature. So Nos. 9 and 30 and 61 seem to us much better worth having than the "dining-room picture" of fruit prepared for dessert. And the pictures we like the least are the Spanish figure subjects, some of them, indeed, as No. 60, too nearly like reminiscences of Murillo to look well unacknowledged as such. These figure subjects are in fact very undeserving of praise, and would call for severe censure if this were the fitting place for it. Nor does it seem to us that the beauty of color in natural fruit and flowers has justice done it; the tone of coloring adopted in all Mr. Hall's work is not pure or bright enough for that; purple is shaded not with darker purple, but with grey. It is not fair to compare water-color with oil painting, but, as far as can be judged by such comparison, Mr. Farrer's drawings at Goupil's three months ago were as forcible as these works, and more beautiful in color.

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## FINANCIAL REVIEW.

NATION OFFICE, Saturday Evening,  
March 3, 1866.

THE price of gold continues to decline, though Government has ceased to sell. No sales have been made this week by the Government broker, but yesterday the price fell to 134½, to-day to 133½, and closed at 133½. So much gold was thrown upon the market by the Government sales in Feb-

ruary that the bears find no difficulty in borrowing it for delivery, and the bulls have to pay money to get their gold carried. Among operators the opinion prevails that gold must fall considerably lower, to 130 at least, before midsummer. Exchange continues to rule  $\frac{1}{4}$  to 1 per cent. below the rate at which specie can be profitably exported as a remittance.

All eyes are directed to Washington, in the hope of discovering some indication of the probable course of Congress on the finance bill. Nothing trustworthy has been given to the public on the subject by the Washington correspondents of the daily papers. It has transpired that the reason why the bill was not taken up on the 28th ult., according to agreement, was the discovery that its fate, if then pressed to a vote, was very uncertain. There are a certain number of Congressmen who object to invest Mr. McCulloch with plenary powers because they desire to spite the Executive branch of the Government. Others object to the same feature of the bill because they deem it unsafe to create any one man dictator of the money market. And others, again, interested, directly or indirectly, in national banks or manufactures, object *in toto* to contraction in any shape. The latter party claim that the President is with them, and certainly some recent speeches of his, in which he seems to imply that the admission of Southern representatives to Congress would somehow or other cause such an absorption of greenbacks at the South that their value would presently approximate to the specie standard, afford some color of justification for the claim. On the other hand, Secretary McCulloch and a large number of the ablest men in Congress adhere to the belief that the way, and the only way, to restore specie payments is to contract the currency—to reduce the volume of legal tenders until they shall become as scarce as gold. Between these conflicting views Congress halts. Three months of the session have already expired, and nothing has yet indicated what policy will be pursued. Some weeks may elapse before a compromise is reached between the contending parties. Persons in the confidence of Secretary McCulloch announce that he has determined to resign in case Congress should refuse to pass the measure he deems necessary. But even without any new legislation, he is in a position to carry out his views to a large degree by substituting long bonds for currency whenever the money market offers favorable opportunities. He might, for instance, to-morrow, reduce the interest on the temporary loan to four per cent. This would lead to a withdrawal of probably half of the \$118,000,000 now on deposit in the sub-treasuries—say \$59,000,000—which sum the large balance on hand—say \$115,000,000—would enable him to pay without difficulty. The effect of the withdrawal would be to cheapen money at all the financial centres and to enhance the price of Government bonds. Taking advantage of this, he might at once sell \$100,000,000 to \$200,000,000 of new five-twenties at a premium, and with the proceeds pay off half the outstanding debt certificates, cancel a few millions of greenbacks, and still keep a balance on hand which, in the event of a pinch in the money market, would enable him to pay off the remainder of the deposit certificates on demand. This would be a commencement of contraction, and might be effected without any new legislation. Congress will probably act on Mr. Morrill's suggestion with regard to the compound interest notes. Bankers seem agreed that they must hereafter be held as investments, and not as reserve. They are all now held at a premium which prevents their circulating as money. No financial expedient of the past four years has worked so well for the Government or for the country as this issue of compound interest notes; and it is due to J. Howard Wainwright, of New York, that he should be remembered as the author of the scheme.

Money continues fairly active at 7 per cent. on miscellaneous collateral and 6 per cent. on Governments. Mercantile paper is slow of sale, especially for second-class names. Capitalists are all waiting for the action of Congress on the finance bill, and no man is willing to let his money pass beyond his control for more than a day or two. At the West considerable embarrassment is reported. Notwithstanding the bounteous crops of the last two years, the West has been paying so much for Eastern and European goods that it finds itself in debt. Produce is selling at such low prices that when the forwarders' charges are paid, there is nothing left for the producer. A marked discontent prevails in commercial circles at the West, and both private and public advices from that quarter point to a season of "hard times." When navigation opens, a fair amount of cereals will come forward by way of the lakes to the seaboard. But if gold be maintained at present quotations, and the West brings as much as usual of those articles of general merchandise which are sold for gold, it is doubtful whether all the wheat and oats and corn and pork sent forward from Chicago, Milwaukee, and Detroit will pay for the sugar, tea, coffee, hides, and dry goods that will be sent West by the merchants of the seaboard.

The following table will show the course of prices during the week in the stock, gold, exchange, and money markets:

	Feb. 24.	Mar. 3.	Advance.	Decline.
United States Sixes of 1881.....	104	104 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	....
5-20 Bonds, old.....	102 $\frac{1}{2}$	103	$\frac{1}{2}$	....
5-20 Bonds of 1865.....	102 $\frac{1}{2}$	103	$\frac{1}{2}$	....
10-40 Bonds.....	94	90 $\frac{1}{2}$ exc.	....	....
7-30 Notes, second series.....	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	....
New York Central.....	91 $\frac{1}{2}$	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	....	$\frac{1}{2}$
Erie Railway.....	80 $\frac{1}{2}$	85 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	....
Hudson River.....	102	103	1	....
Reading Railroad.....	100	98 $\frac{1}{2}$	....	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Michigan Southern.....	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	....
Cleveland and Pittsburgh.....	77	76 $\frac{1}{2}$	....	$\frac{1}{2}$
Chicago and North-western.....	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	26 $\frac{1}{2}$	....	$\frac{1}{2}$
"    "    Preferred.....	54 $\frac{1}{2}$	53 $\frac{1}{2}$	....	$\frac{1}{2}$
Chicago and Rock Island.....	103 $\frac{1}{2}$	105	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	....
P., Fort Wayne, and Chicago.....	92 $\frac{1}{2}$	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	....	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Canton.....	44 $\frac{1}{2}$	44 $\frac{1}{2}$	....	$\frac{1}{2}$
Cumberland.....	44 $\frac{1}{2}$	44 $\frac{1}{2}$	....	....
Mariposa.....	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	....
American Gold.....	137	133 $\frac{1}{2}$	....	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bankers' Bills on London.....	108 $\frac{1}{2}$	108 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	....
Call Loans.....	7	7	....	....

The feature of the week in the stock market has been a sudden advance in the stock of the Erie Railway. It rose on Thursday to 87, sold to-day as high as 86 $\frac{1}{2}$ , and closed at 85 $\frac{1}{2}$ . The advance is due to a clique movement, managed by the veteran director of the road. It is understood that the clique has, for the third time within a year, bought up all the floating Erie, and expects to realize its profit by supplying the luckless speculators who are "caught short." Nothing short of a miracle can render such an operation profitable. It was tried in June, 1865, and by great good luck the clique made a small profit. It was tried again in January last, and the clique lost over half a million. How this third experiment will turn out remains to be seen. Every railroad man is aware that the Erie Railway Company is not making money at the present time; that the low price of produce and the general depression of business have led to a competition for freight in the course of which rates have been reduced to a point which leaves no profit for the carrier, and that no midsummer dividend can be fairly earned on the Erie. Under these circumstances there is not, and cannot be, any enquiry for Erie Railway stock for investment, and a clique which buys up all the stock may possibly make a trifle by cornering some foolish bears, but in the end it must inevitably be saddled with an immense quantity of stock which it cannot sell at any price. An effort in February to sell a few thousand shares knocked down the price from 97 to 75. A similar effort made now would lead to quite an equal decline. The recent cornering operations in Erie, managed by the leading director of the road, have generated a wholesome disgust in the public mind, and the stock itself is tabooed in many offices. Among the shorts to-day as much as  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1 per cent. was paid for the use of stock till Monday. Apart from Erie and Rock Island, which is also being bought up by a clique, the general course of the market has been downward. Fort Wayne, one of the soundest of the dividend-paying railways, has declined to the neighborhood of 90. The earnings continue to show a heavy falling off, and there are rumors that the dividend will be reduced. New York Central has also been pressed for sale by the party which bought on the prospect of the passage of a bill through the Legislature authorizing an increase in the rate of fare. It seems that this prospect is not quite as brilliant as it was. Reading, another of the sound dividend-paying stocks, has declined 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., partly in sympathy with the decline in the price of coal. Michigan Southern remains pretty steady. The leading director of the road, emulating the performances of the leading director of the Erie, has been selling a large quantity of "puts" at or about 69, and he will take care that, till his "puts" expire, the stock shall not decline much below that figure. When the puts have run out, buyers and holders will have to take care of themselves. No position in the world offers more brilliant opportunities for making money than that of leading director in a railway whose stock is active in the market. But it not unfrequently happens in such cases that the gains of the stockholders are in inverse ratio to those of their chosen directors.

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**\$14,885,278 88.**

Number of Policies issued in 1865, 8,600, ensuring	\$31,304,407 00
In force February 1, 1866, 25,797 Policies, ensuring	83,413,933 00
Dividend Addition to same,	7,830,925 92
	<b>\$91,244,858 92</b>

## STATEMENT FOR YEAR.

JANUARY 31, 1866.

The Net Assets, February 1, 1865, \$11,799,414 68

## RECEIPTS DURING THE YEAR.

For premiums and policy fees:	
Original on new policies	\$1,154,066 94
Renewals	1,815,654 82
War extras and annuities	15,428 64—\$2,988,150 40
Interest:	
On bonds and mortgages	361,732 88
U. S. Stocks	352,329 52
Premium on gold	94,999 66—
Rent	809,082 06
	55,833 34—\$3,853,065 80
Total	\$15,632,480 48
Disbursements as follows:	
Paid claims by death and additions to same	\$712,823 71
Paid matured Endowment Policies and additions	30,999 32
Paid post-mortem Dividends, Dividends surrendered, and reduction of Premium	58,730 87
Paid surrendered Policies	190,691 40
Paid Annuities	10,242 55
Paid Taxes	38,076 52
Paid Expenses, including Exchange, Postage, Advertising, Medical Examinations, Salaries, Printing, Stationery, and sundry office expenses	174,310 94
Paid Commissions, and for purchase of Commissions accruing on future premiums	334,255 12—1,540,130 63

NET CASH ASSETS, JAN. 31, 1866. \$14,112,349 85

Invested as follows:

Cash on hand and in Bank	\$1,475,899 82
Bonds and Mortgages	7,348,622 30
United States Stocks (Cost)	4,468,921 25
Real Estate	782,307 34
Balance due by Agents	36,599 14—\$14,112,349 85

Add:	
Interest accrued, but not due	\$112,000 00
Interest due and unpaid	5,084 73
Deferred Premiums and Premiums due, but not yet received	655,844 30—772,929 03

GROSS ASSETS, JAN. 31, 1866. \$14,885,278 88

INCREASE IN NET CASH ASSETS FOR THE YEAR. \$2,312,935 17

## THE GROSS ASSETS OF THE COMPANY ARE THUS APPROPRIATED:

Reserve to re-ensure outstanding policies, including dividend additions to same	\$1,503,996 03
Claims ascertained and unpaid (not due)	122,750 00
Dividend additions to same	23,497 64
Post-mortem dividends (uncalled for)	29,931 73
Premiums paid in advance	11,065 48
Undivided Surplus (excluding a margin on the above Reserve of over \$1,000,000)	218,649 42

DIVIDEND OF 1866. \$2,975,388 58

Gross Assets, Feb. 1, 1866, as above. \$14,885,278 88

N.B.—The reserve to re-ensure outstanding policies and additions (\$1,503,996 03), as above, includes a margin of \$1,000,000 over and above the net values, at four per cent. interest, so that the total undivided surplus exceeds \$1,300,000.

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ITS CASH ASSETS ARE. \$14,885,278 88

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FRED. M. WINSTON, CASHIER.

WILLIAM BETTS, LL.D.,  
 Hon. LUCIUS ROBINSON,  
 Hon. ALEX. W. BRADFORD, } COUNSEL.MINTURN POST, M.D., { MEDICAL EXAMINERS.  
 ISAAC L. KIP, M.D., }

F. RATCHFORD STARR, General Agent for the States of Pennsylvania and Delaware, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

H. B. MERRELL, General Agent for the States of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, DETROIT, MICH.

HALE REMINGTON, General Agent for the New England States, FALL RIVER, MASS.

JNO. G. JENNINGS, General Agent for the State of Ohio, CLEVELAND, O.

JNO. T. CHRISTIE, General Agent for Central New York, TROY, N. Y.

STEPHEN PARKS, General Agent for Western New York, present address TROY, N. Y.

JAMES A. RHODES, General Agent for Southern New York, 157 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

O. F. BRESEE, General Agent for the State of Virginia, RICHMOND, VA.

L. SPENCER GOBLE, General Agent for the State of New Jersey, NEWARK, N. J.

H. S. HOMANS, General Agent for the State of California, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

THE MEDICAL EXAMINERS OF THE COMPANY ARE AT THE OFFICE DAILY FROM 10 A.M. TO 3 P.M.

## THE GREAT NATIONAL SAVINGS BANK.

CAPITAL AND ASSETS EXCEEDING \$1,500,000.

## THE UNION MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.

NEW YORK OFFICE, 151 BROADWAY.

Assets, Nov. 1, 1865,	\$1,400,777 16
Losses paid to date	912,342 00
Dividends paid to date	412,748 00

This is one of the oldest wholly Mutual Life Insurance Companies in the United States, and has been uniformly successful, having always made large returns in Cash dividends to all the Policy-holders.

We refer to the following well-known Clergymen who are insured with us:

HENRY WARD BEECHER, R. S. STORRS, JR., HENRY ASHTON, W. P. STRICKLAND,

and are allowed to make the following extract from a private letter of the Rev. W. P. Strickland, D.D., as follows:

From what I know of the Union Mutual Life Insurance Company, 151 Broadway, where I am insured for \$5,000, I believe that the Company is placed upon an immovable foundation; that its officers and agents are competent and honest, that it will faithfully and promptly meet all its covenants. I make this statement without any compensation, and without any hope of fees or reward whatever.

Brooklyn, July 31, 1865. W. P. STRICKLAND.

We invite careful attention to our table No. IV.,

## "Non-forfeiture Endowment,"

being peculiarly adapted to those on salary,

Efficient agents are wanted.

J. W. &amp; H. JUDD,

General Agents for New York and New Jersey.

# HOME INSURANCE COMPANY OF NEW YORK,

OFFICE, 135 BROADWAY.

Cash Capital, - - - - - \$2,000,000 00  
Assets, 1st Jan., 1865, - - - - - 3,765,503 42  
Liabilities, - - - - - 77,901 52

## FIRE, MARINE, and INLAND INSURANCE.

Agencies at all important points throughout the United States.

CHAS. J. MARTIN, President.

A. F. WILMARTH, Vice-President.

JOHN MCGEE, Secretary.

J. H. WASHBURN, Assistant Secretary.

W. C. NICOLL, Superintendent Marine Department.

OFFICE OF THE ATLANTIC MUTUAL INSURANCE CO.,  
New York, January 27, 1866.The Trustees, in conformity to the Charter of the Company, submit the following  
Statement of its Affairs on the 31st December, 1865:

Premiums received on Marine Risks from 1st January, 1865, to 31st December, 1865.....	\$6,933,146 80
Premiums on Policies not marked off 1st January, 1865.....	2,019,324 73
Total amount of Marine Premiums.....	\$8,952,471 53
No Policies have been issued upon Life Risks, nor upon Fire Risks disconnected with Marine Risks.	
Premiums marked off from 1st January, 1865, to 31st December, 1865..	\$6,764,146 38
Losses paid during the same period.....	\$3,659,179 45
Returns of Premiums and Expenses.....	\$992,341 44
The Company has the following Assets, viz.:	
United States and State of New York Stock, City, Bank, and other Stocks	\$4,898,585 00
Loans secured by Stocks and otherwise.....	3,330,350 00
Real Estate and Bonds and Mortgages.....	221,360 00
Dividends on Stocks, Interest on Bonds and Mortgages and other	
Loans, sundry notes, re-insurance, and other claims due the Com-	
pany, estimated at.....	144,064 43
Premium Notes and Bills Receivable.....	3,383,501 96
Cash in Bank, Coin.....	80,462 00
" " U. S. Treasury Note Currency.....	310,551 78
Total Amount of Assets.....	\$12,199,975 17

Six per cent. interest on the outstanding certificates of profits will be paid to the holders thereof, or their legal representatives, on and after Tuesday, the Sixth of February next.

Fifty per cent. of the outstanding certificates of the issue of 1864 will be redeemed and paid to the holders thereof, or their legal representatives, on and after Tuesday, the Sixth of February next, from which date interest on the amount so redeemable will cease. The certificates to be produced at the time of payment, and cancelled to the extent paid.

A dividend of Thirty-Five per cent. is declared on the net earned premiums of the Company, for the year ending the 31st December, 1865, for which certificates will be issued on and after Tuesday, the Third of April next.

By order of the Board,

J. H. CHAPMAN, Secretary.

### TRUSTEES.

John D. Jones,  
Charles Dennis,  
W. H. H. Moore,  
Henry Colt,  
Wm. C. Fickersgill,  
Lewis Curtis,  
Charles H. Russell,  
Lowell Holbrook,  
R. Warren Weston,  
Royal Phelps,  
Caleb Barstow,  
A. F. Elliot,

William E. Dodge,  
Geo. G. Hobson,  
David Lane,  
James Bryce,  
Leroy M. Wiley,  
Daniel S. Miller,  
Wm. Sturgis,  
Henry K. Bogert,  
Joshua J. Henry,  
Dennis Perkins,  
Joseph Gaillard, Jr.,  
J. Henry Barge,

Cornelius Grinnell,  
C. A. Hand,  
B. J. Howland,  
Benj. Babcock,  
Fletcher Westray,  
Robt. B. Ninturn, Jr.,  
Gordon W. Burnham,  
Frederick Chauncey,  
James Low,  
George S. Stephenson,  
William H. Webb.

JOHN D. JONES, President.  
CHARLES DENNIS, Vice-President.  
W. H. H. MOORE, 3d Vice-Pres't.  
J. D. HEWLETT, 3d Vice-President.

## THE MORRIS FIRE AND INLAND INSURANCE COMPANY,

COLUMBIAN BUILDING, 1 NASSAU STREET.

JUNE 1, 1865.

AUTHORIZED CAPITAL, \$5,000,000.

CASH CAPITAL, PAID IN, AND SURPLUS, \$885,040 57.

### POLICIES OF INSURANCE AGAINST LOSS OR DAMAGE BY FIRE

Issued on the most Favorable Terms.

EDWARD A. STANSBURY, President.

ABRAM M. KIRBY, Vice-President.

ELLIS R. THOMAS, Secretary.

JAY COOKE,  
WM. G. MOOREHEAD,  
H. D. COOKE,

H. C. FAHNESTOCK,  
EDWARD DODGE,  
PITT COOKE.

## JAY COOKE & CO., BANKERS.

In connection with our houses in Philadelphia and Washington, we have this day opened an office at No. 1 Nassau Street, corner of Wall Street, in this city.

Mr. EDWARD DODGE, late of Clark, Dodge & Co., New York, Mr. H. C. FAHNESTOCK, of our Washington House, and Mr. PITT COOKE, of Sandusky, Ohio, will be resident partners.

We shall give particular attention to the PURCHASE, SALE, and EXCHANGE of GOVERNMENT SECURITIES of all issues; to orders for purchase and sale of STOCKS, BONDS, and GOLD, and to all business of National Banks.

JAY COOKE &amp; CO.

MARCH 1, 1866.

## PHENIX INSURANCE COMPANY, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

OFFICES, 1 COURT STREET, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

" 139 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

CASH CAPITAL - - - - - \$1,000,000 00  
ASSETS - - - - - 1,500,000 00

Insurance against Loss by Fire, Marine, Lake, Canal, and Inland Transportation.

STEPHEN CROWELL, President.

EDGAR W. CROWELL, Vice-President.

PHILANDER SHAW, Secretary.

## FOURTH NATIONAL BANK, 27 & 29 PINE ST., NEW YORK,

Has for sale U. S. 7 3-10 Notes, all sizes; also, One Year Certificates and all other Government Loans.

P. C. CALHOUN, President.

ANTHONY LANE, Asst. Cashier.

B. SEAMAN, Cashier.

### Insurance Scrip.

WILLIAM C. GILMAN,

46 PINE STREET, NEW YORK,

BUYS AND SELLS INSURANCE SCRIP.

## The Nation:

A Weekly Journal of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art.

THIS journal will not be the organ of any party, sect, or body. It will, on the contrary, make an earnest effort to bring to the discussion of political and social questions a really critical spirit, and to wage war upon the vices of violence, exaggeration, and misrepresentation by which so much of the political writing of the day is marred.

The criticism of books and works of art will form one of its most prominent features: and pains will be taken to have this task performed in every case by writers possessing special qualifications for it.

It is intended, in the interest of investors, as well as of the public generally, to have questions of trade and finance treated every week by a writer whose position and character will give

his articles an exceptional value, and render them a safe and trustworthy guide.

A special correspondent, who has been selected for his work with care, is pursuing a journey through the South. His letters appear every week, and he is charged with the duty of simply reporting what he sees and hears, leaving the public as far as possible to draw its own inferences.

TERMS:—Six Dollars per annum, in advance; Six months, Four Dollars. When delivered by Carrier in New York or Brooklyn, Fifty Cents additional.

JOSEPH H. RICHARDS,

PUBLISHER,

130 Nassau Street, N. Y.

**WILLIAM KNABE & CO.'S**  
Celebrated Gold Medal  
GRAND, SQUARE, AND UPRIGHT  
**PIANOS.**

These instruments have been for thirty years before the public, in competition with other instruments of first class makers. They have, throughout that long period, maintained their reputation among the profession and the public as being unsurpassed in every quality found in a first-class Piano.

650 BROADWAY,

AND

CROSBY'S OPERA HOUSE, CHICAGO, ILL.

**J. BAUER & CO., Agents.**

**THE BEST SEWING-MACHINES IN THE WORLD.**

**THE WEED MACHINES.**

With all their valuable improvements, entirely overcome all imperfections. They are superior to all others for family and manufacturing purposes, simple in construction, durable in all their parts, and readily understood. They have certainty of stitch on all kinds of fabrics, and are adapted to a wide range of work without change or adjustment, using all kinds of thread. Will hem, fell, bind, gather, braid, tuck, quilt, cord, and, in fact, do all kinds of work required by families or manufacturers. We invite all persons in search of an instrument to execute any kind of sewing now done by machinery to inspect them, and recommend all parties engaging in the sale of sewing-machines to make sure they secure the best by examining the WEED before purchasing. They make the shuttle-stitch, which cannot be excelled for firmness, elasticity, durability, and elegance of finish. They have received the highest premiums in every instance where they have been exhibited in competition with other standard machines. The company being duly licensed, the machines are protected against infringements or litigation.

Reliable agents wanted, to whom we offer great inducements. Every explanation will be cheerfully given to all, whether they wish to purchase or not. Descriptive circulars, together with specimens of their work, will be furnished to all who desire them by mail or otherwise.

**WEED SEWING-MACHINE CO.,**

STORE, 506 BROADWAY, N. Y.

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**STATIONERS, STEAM PRINTERS,**

AND

**BLANK-BOOK MANUFACTURERS,**

Supply everything in their line at lowest prices. Every kind of Writing Paper, Account Books, Fancy and Staple Stationery, Diaries for 1866, Expense Books, etc. Orders solicited.

**HOME FOR INVALIDS,**

ESTABLISHED IN 1847,

BY E. E. DENNISTON, M.D.,

At Springdale, Northampton, Mass. Number limited to Forty.

Aware of the principles Dr. Denniston proposes conducting it upon, we are induced to recommend his establishment for the treatment of Chronic Diseases of various kinds. We believe it contains all the advantages of similar establishments, and have confidence in the skill and judgment, experience and prudence, of Dr. D. to direct the application of the various remedial treatment according to the exigencies of the individual cases.

J. C. Warren, M.D., John Ware, M.D.,  
Geo. Hayward, M.D., J. M. Warren, M.D.,  
Edw. Reynolds, M.D., M. I. Perry, M.D.,  
Jacob Bigelow, M.D., J. Homans, M.D.,  
Boston, February 29, 1848.  
Reference—New York, Willard Parker, M.D.  
Brooklyn, C. L. Mitchell, M.D.

**THE MUSICAL INSTITUTE,**  
OF PROVIDENCE, R. I.,  
Affords rare facilities for obtaining a  
THOROUGH MUSICAL EDUCATION.

Send for Circulars and Catalogues. Address  
EBEN TOURJEE, Providence, R. I.

**GREAT SALE**

OF

**OIL AND WATER-COLOR PAINTINGS.**

The Entire Collection of Foreign Works of Art consigned to

S. P. AVERY,

OF 694 BROADWAY,

with many new and important additions, made expressly for this Sale, selected for him with especial regard for this market. Altogether 250 pictures by 135 different artists, such as

TISSOT, MERLE, BRION, WILLEMS, FRERE, GÉROME, JALABERT, DUVERGER, WAPPERS, BONGEURAU, DILLENS, ANTIGNA, SCHLESINGER, FICHEL, BRILLOUIN, MEYER OF BREMEN, KOEK-KOEK, CHAPLIN, LE POITTEVIN, MOULINET, FAUVELET, VOERBOECKHOVEN, GIRADET, BOUGHTON, THOM, LAMBINET, ETC., ETC.

**WATER-COLORS**

BY THE CELEBRATED

WILLIAM HUNT (deceased), GUSTAVE DORÉ, COMPTE CALIX, JULES NOEL, DAVID, JACQUE, MAROHN, GAVARNI, GIRADIN, COUTOCRIER, LEMMENS, TESSON, CALMELET, COUDER, ETC., ETC.,

to which is added the important and well-known work by

F. E. CHURCH,

**"TWILIGHT IN THE WILDERNESS,"**

now on Exhibition, Day and Evening, at the Old Düsseldorf Gallery, 548 Broadway, and will be sold at auction by H. H. Leeds and Miner, on the evenings of Thursday and Friday, March 8 and 9.

**Copartnership Notice.**

The undersigned have associated, under the firm title of OLMSTED, VAUX & CO., for the business of furnishing Designs and Superintendence for Buildings and Grounds, and other Architectural and Engineering Works, including the Laying-out of Towns, Villages, Parks, Cemeteries, and Gardens.

110 Broadway,  
New York, January 1, 1866.

FRED. LAW OLMSTED,  
CALVEIT VAUX,  
FRED'K C. WITHERS.

**BRADY'S GALLERY.**

OPEN DAY AND EVENING.

785 Broadway, corner of Tenth Street.

FREE TO THE PUBLIC.

GRAND EXHIBITION

of an entirely new and attractive collection of

WAR VIEWS

AND PORTRAITS OF REPRESENTATIVE MEN.

The collection comprises more than two thousand pictures, several hundred specimen copies of which have just been placed on exhibition as above.

**FINKLE & LYON'S**

IMPROVED

**LOOK-STITCH SEWING-MACHINE.**

N. B.—Money refunded if the Machine is not preferred to any in market for family use.

AGENTS WANTED.

538 Broadway, N. Y.

**CARTER, KIRTLAND & CO.,**  
Manufacturers and Jobbers of  
**CLOTHING,**

340 BROADWAY, N. Y.,

Offer to first-class buyers a Large and very Complete Stock of

SPRING AND SUMMER CLOTHING

OF ALL GRADES,

Embracing

FINE, MEDIUM, AND LOW-PRICED GOODS.

Our Stock is prepared with special reference to the wants of all sections and climates. Great care and attention is bestowed upon the manufacture. The newest fabrics are always selected, the latest fashions consulted, and every garment thoroughly and durably made.

All orders entrusted to us are executed with the same fidelity and attention, and with every advantage of the market, which they would have were the parties present in person to select for themselves.

Jobbers, Merchant Tailors, Country Merchants, and Dealers generally, will find it to their advantage to call and examine our stock before purchasing.

**SPECIAL INDUCEMENTS TO CASH BUYERS.**

SAMUEL CARTER, WM. H. KIRTLAND,  
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**Pacific Mail Steamship Company's  
THROUGH LINE**

**TO CALIFORNIA,**

TOUCHING AT MEXICAN PORTS,

AND CARRYING THE U. S. MAIL,

Leave Pier No. 42 North River, foot of Canal Street, at 12 o'clock noon, on the 1st, 11th, and 21st of every month (except when those dates fall on Sunday, and then on the preceding SATURDAY), for ASPINWALL, connecting, via Panama Railroad, with one of the Company's steamships from Panama for SAN FRANCISCO, touching at ACAPULCO.

**DECEMBER.**

1st.—HENRY CHAUNCEY, Captain Gray, connecting with CONSTITUTION, Captain Farnsworth.

11th.—ATLANTIC, Captain Maury, connecting with GOLDEN CITY, Captain Bradbury.

21st.—NEW YORK, Captain Horner, connecting with COLORADO, Captain Watkins.

Departures of 1st and 21st connect at Panama with steamers for SOUTH PACIFIC PORTS. Those of 1st touch at MANZANILLO.

Through Passage Rates, in Currency.

FIRST CABIN, SECOND CABIN, STEERAGE,  
ON STEAMERS.... \$325. \$225. \$100.

Panama Railroad ticket invariably \$25 additional, in currency.

A discount of ONE-FIFTH from steamers' rates allowed to second-cabin and steerage passengers with families.

One Hundred Pounds Baggage allowed each adult. Baggage-masters accompany baggage through, and attend to ladies and children without male protectors. Baggage received on the dock the day before sailing, from steamboats, railroads, and passengers, who prefer to send down early.

An experienced Surgeon on Board. Medicines and attendance free.

A steamer will be placed on the line January 1, 1866, to run from NEW ORLEANS to ASPINWALL, via HAVANA.

For Passage tickets or further information apply at the Company's ticket office, on the wharf foot of Canal Street, North River,

**F. W. G. BELLINGS, AGENT.**

**DEMULCENT SOAP,**

FOR CHAPPED AND TENDER HANDS,

FOR TOILET AND BATH USE.

MANUFACTURED ONLY BY

**J. C. HULL'S SON,**

29 PARK ROW, N. Y.

Upwards of 100 styles of Toilet and Staple Soaps. For sale  
by all Dealers.**Improvements in Piano-fortes.**

One of the simplest and most truly valuable improvements yet made in the Piano-forte is that invented and patented by

**DECKER BROTHERS, 91 BLEECKER STREET,**in this city. By correcting the only imperfections arising from the use of the full iron-plate, and that, too, by not detracting in the slightest degree from its many positive advantages, the Messrs. DECKER have developed in their instruments a tone at once admirable for its purity, fullness, prolongation, and sweetness, and the high estimation in which their improvement is held is well shown in the rapidly increasing business of their firm.—*Tribune.***MARVIN'S****PATENT FIRE AND BURGLAR SAFE.**Superior to any others in the following particulars—  
They are more fire-proof.  
They are more burglar-proof.  
They are perfectly dry.  
They do not lose their fire-proof qualities by age.  
Manufactured only by**MARVIN & CO., 265 Broadway.**

721 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

Send for a descriptive Circular.

**Make Your Own Soap** with B. T. BABBITT'S Potash, in tin cans, 70 Washington Street, New York. Pure Concentrated Potash or Ready Soap Maker. Warranted double the strength of common Potash, and superior to any other saponifier or lye in the market. Put up in cans of one pound, two pounds, three pounds, six pounds, and twelve pounds, with full directions in English and German for making Hard and Soft Soap. One pound will make fifteen gallons of Soft Soap. No lino is required. Consumers will find this the cheapest Potash in market.**B. T. BABBITT,**

64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72, and 74 Washington St., N. Y.

**WHEELER & WILSON'S SEWING MACHINES,**

625 BROADWAY, N. Y.,

MAKE THE

**LOCK-STITCH, -**and rank highest on account of the elasticity, permanence, beauty, and general desirableness of the stitching, when done, and the wide range of its application.—*Report of American Institute.***Lock-Stitch Sewing Machines**

FOR FAMILIES AND MANUFACTURERS.

**THE HOWE MACHINE COMPANY,****ELIAS HOWE, Jr., Pres.,****629 BROADWAY.**

Agents wanted.

**Saleratus.**—B. T. BABBITT'S SALERATUS, 70 Washington Street, N. Y. If you want healthy bread, use B. T. Babbitt's best medicinal Saleratus, made from common salt. Bread made with this Saleratus contains, when baked, nothing but common salt, water, and flour. B. T. BABBITT, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72, and 74 Washington Street, N. Y.**Economical Housekeepers Use****PLYLE'S SALERATUS.** | **PLYLE'S O. K. SOAP.**  
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Articles designed for all who want the best goods, full weight. Sold by best Grocers everywhere. Each package bears the name of JAMES PYLE, Manufacturer, New York.

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Grand, Square, and Upright PIANOS, MELODEONS, HARMONIUMS, and CABINET ORGANS. Wholesale and retail, at reduced prices. To let, and rent allowed if purchased. Monthly payments received for the same. Second-hand Pianos at bargain prices \$60, \$75, \$100, \$125, \$150, \$175, \$200, and \$225. Factory and Warerooms, 51 Broadway. Cash paid for second-hand Pianos.

**TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE CO.,**

OFFICE, 112 AND 114 BROADWAY, N. Y.

**January 1, 1866.**

Amount of assets, Jan. 1, 1865.....	\$3,658,735 55
Amount of premiums received during 1865.....	\$2,684,804 86
Amount of interest received and accrued, including premium on gold, etc.....	257,260 54
	2,342,065 40
Total.....	\$6,000,820 95

**DISBURSEMENTS.**

Paid losses by death.....	\$490,523 03
Paid for redemption of dividends, annuities, and surrendered and cancelled policies.....	294,698 53
Paid salaries, printing, and office expenses.....	71,528 95
Paid commissions and agency expenses.....	216,405 53
Paid for advertising and physician's fees.....	31,542 41
Paid taxes, internal revenue stamps, war contribution, and law expenses.....	14,203 80
	\$1,118,901 25
Total.....	\$4,881,919 70

**ASSETS.**

Cash on hand and in bank.....	\$250,036 56
Invested in United States stocks, cost (market value, \$2,140,775).....	2,115,431 25
Invested in New York City Bank stocks, cost (market value, \$54,475).....	52,561 50
Invested in other stocks, cost (market value, \$334,015).....	333,923 15
Loans on demand, secured by U. S. and other stocks (market value, \$55,858).....	48,500 00
Real estate (market value, \$250,000).....	140,819 74
Bonds and mortgages.....	250,747 02
Premium notes on existing policies bearing interest.....	1,106,988 21
Quarterly and semi-annual premiums due subsequent to Jan. 1, 1866.....	242,451 02
Interest accrued to Jan. 1, 1866.....	60,980 59
Rents accrued to Jan. 1, 1866.....	1,879 12
Premiums on policies in hands of agents and in course of transmission.....	197,601 54
	\$4,881,919 70

The Trustees have declared a return premium as follows: A Scrip Dividend of FIFTY PER CENT. upon all participating premiums on Life Policies in force, which were issued twelve months prior to Jan. 1, 1866, and directed the redemption in full of the dividends declared in 1863 and 1864.

Certificates will be redeemed in cash on and after the first Monday in March next, on presentation at the home office. Policies subject to notes will be credited with the return on settlement of next premium.

By order of the Board.

**WILLIAM H. BEERS, Actuary.**

During the year 5,138 new policies were issued, ensuring \$16,324,888.

**BALANCE SHEET OF THE COMPANY, JAN. 1, 1863.**

Assets as above, at cost.....	\$4,881,919 70
(Market value, \$5,018,449 06.)	
Disposed of as follows:	
Reserved for losses, due subsequent to Jan. 1, 1866.....	\$78,841 45
Reserved for reported losses, awaiting proofs.....	26,000 00
Reserved for special deposit for minor children.....	285 76
Amount reserved for reinsurance on all existing policies (valuations at 4 per cent. interest).....	3,530,297 66
Reserved for:	
Dividends declared prior to 1863, due or payable on demand.....	118,211 88
Dividends, 1863 and 1864, now to be paid.....	332,895 00
Dividend, 1865 (present value).....	315,042 00
Dividend, 1866 (present value).....	406,117 00
Special reserve (not divided).....	184,228 95
	\$4,881,919 70

**MORRIS FRANKLIN, President.****ISAAC C. KENDALL, Vice-Pres't.****WILLIAM H. BEERS, Actuary.****THEODORE M. BANTA, Cashier.****CORNELIUS R. BOGERT, M.D.,** { Medical Examiners.**GEORGE WILKES, M.D.,****CHARLES WRIGHT, M.D.,** Assistant Med. Examiner.**RAVEN & BACON'S PIANO-FORTES.**

(ESTABLISHED 1839.)

A full assortment of these Instruments, which have been well known in the New York market for more than thirty years, constantly on hand. We are continually adding improvements to our Pianos, and our facilities enable us to furnish them at terms and prices satisfactory to purchasers. Pictorial circulars sent by mail.

Wareroom, 135 Grand St., near Broadway, New York.

**DECKER & CO.,****MANUFACTURERS OF PIANO-FORTES,**

419 BROOME STREET,

One Block East of Broadway, N. Y.

These Pianos stand unrivalled in regard to their singing quality; volume and purity of tone; sympathetic, elastic, and even touch; and durability of construction, which enables them to remain in tune much longer than ordinary Pianos.

**Bradbury's Pianos "the Best."**

Pronounced "THE BEST" by the most renowned artists.

SUPERIOR in tone, touch, power, DURABILITY, and elegance of finish." Warerooms 425 and 427 Broome Street, corner of Crosby. Call or send for circular.

**WM. B. BRADBURY.****Light Biscuit** made in fifteen minutes with **T. B. BABBITT'S STAR YEAST POWDERS**, 70 Washington Street, N. Y.**MANTEL ORNAMENTS,**

Bronze and Marble French Clocks, Fine Vases, Parian, Bisque, and Bronze Statuettes, Groups, etc., etc.

We are now offering a fine assortment of the above goods at a reduction of 25 per cent., to make room for new goods now being bought by Mr. Ovington, who is in Europe.

**OVINGTON BROTHERS,**

FELTON, near CLINTON STREET, BROOKLYN.

**FLORENCE SEWING MACHINE CO.,**

505 BROADWAY, N. Y.

**THE BEST FAMILY MACHINE IN THE WORLD.**

Wonderful REVERSIBLE FEED MOTION. SELF-ADJUSTING Tension. No Snarling and Breaking Threads. Four distinct Stitches.

**JOSEPH GILLOTT'S STEEL PENS.**  
OF THE OLD STANDARD QUALITY.

TRADE MARK:

**Joseph GilloTT,**  
Warranted.or Descriptive Name, and Designating Number.  
New Series, Good and Cheap, from No. 700 to No. 761.TRADE MARK: **Joseph GilloTT,** Designating  
**Birmingham.** Numbers.

For sale by

**JOSEPH GILLOTT & SONS,**

91 John Street, New York.

**HENRY OWEN, Sole Agent.****STEINWAY & SONS'  
GRAND, SQUARE, AND UPRIGHT  
PIANO-FORTES**

Have taken Thirty-two First Premiums, Gold and Silver Medals, at the Principal Fairs held in this country within the last ten years, and in addition thereto they were awarded a First Prize Medal at the Great International Exhibition in London, 1862, in competition with 269 Pianos from all parts of the World.

That the great superiority of these instruments is now universally conceded is abundantly proven by the fact that Messrs. Steinways' "scales, improvements, and peculiarities of construction" have been copied by the great majority of the manufacturers of both hemispheres (AS CLOSELY AS COULD BE DONE WITHOUT INFRINGEMENT OF PATENT RIGHTS) and that their instruments are used by the most eminent pianists of Europe and America, who prefer them for their own public and private use, whenever accessible.

**STEINWAY & SONS** direct special attention to their **PATENT AGRAFFE ARRANGEMENT,**

which, having been practically tested in all their grand and highest-priced Square Pianos, and admitted to be one of the greatest improvements of modern times, will hereafter be introduced in EVERY PIANO MANUFACTURED BY THEM WITHOUT INCREASE OF COST to the purchaser, in order that ALL their patrons may reap its benefits.

**STEINWAY & SONS' PIANOS** are the only American instruments exported to Europe in large numbers, and used in European concert-rooms.**WAREHOUSES, 71 & 73 EAST FOURTEENTH ST.,** between Union Square and Irving Place, New York.

